Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-182 *21 September 1987*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Arbatov Interviewed on INF Agreement *[Tokyo]* 1
Levin Comments on Negotiations Decision 2
KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Lauds Peace Policy *[17 Sep]* 2
'Double Standards' on Verification Hit *[Drobkov in PRAVDA 12 Sep]* 3
NATO 'Upgrading' Plans Bar Way to Pact *[Chernyshev in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Aug]* 4
Karaganda Explosion Experiment Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Sep]* 5
Senator Cites Effort To 'Sink' ABM Pact *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 7

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

CEMA Executive Committee Communique *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 8
CEMA Coal Commission Signs Protocol *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 8
Korionov on CP's 'Grave Difficulties' *[PRAVDA 14.Sep]* 8

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Reaction to Soviet-U.S. Missile Agreement 10
NATO Comments 10
Perez De Cuellar on Accord 10
Shevardnadze, PRC's Wu Xueqian Meet 10
Shevardnadze Meets Iran's Velayati 11
Bloc Ministers Hold Discussion at UN 11
Ukrainian Mission Writes Perez De Cuellar 11
Pugwash Conference Discussions Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 12
International Situation: Questions & Answers *[Patsyuk, Bogdanov]* 13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Shultz End Talks 15
Agree on Full-Scale Talks 15
Shevardnadze Sees Reagan 15
Joint Statement Issued 15
Shevardnadze Meets Press *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 16
Discusses 'Obstacles' *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 18
Sees Talks' Results 19
Reports on GDR Shooting *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 19
Departs for New York 19
Arrives in New York 19
Reagan, Shultz Hold News Conference 19
Reagan Praises Results 19
Shultz on SDI Commitment *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 20
Reagan Brands Accord 'Major Event' 21
Shultz: Soviets 'Ready To Work' 21
Comments Assess Shevardnadze Talks 21
Kondrashev Comments *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 21
Solton on Agreement 22
PRAVDA Sees Washington 'Optimism' *[20 Sep]* 23

Near East & South Asia

Reportage From DRA Rebel Arms Convoy *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 23
Anti-Afghan 'Propaganda Warfare' Escalates 26
Iran's Ambassador Meets With Officials *[IRNA]* 26
Nu'man Makes Stopover Enroute to Prague *[Aden]* 26
Indian-Sri Lankan Agreement Welcomed 26

East Europe

Bloc Supports U.S.-Soviet Arms Agreement 27
Jaruzelski on Principle 27
Romania Welcomes Agreement 27
TANJUG Comments 27

West Europe

DPA Reports Plea for Rust Pardon Submitted 27
Cologne Radio Report on 'Arrests' Decried 28
Further on Spanish Delegation's Visit 28
Holds Talks With Yakovlev *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 28
Meets With Ryzhkov *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 29
Departs 20 Sep 29
Spanish Minister Praises Arms Accord 29
Belgium To Send Minesweepers to Gulf 29

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

FRG Paper Reports Gorbachev 'Food Poisoning' *[Hamburg BILD 21 Sep]* 30
Gorbachev Greets Academy of Architecture 30
Moscow TV Broadcasts Moscow Day Ceremonies 30
Aliyev Attends 17 September Kremlin Concert *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 31
Tolstykh Chairs Youth Council Meeting *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 31
Solovyev Attends Veteran Communists' Meeting 31
Gromyko Chairs Presidium Session 31
Supreme Soviet To Convene 19 October 32
Dissident Catholic Leader Leaves For West *[AFP]* 32
Armenian Officials Disciplined After Fire *[IZVESTIYA 9 Sep]* 32
Unfinished Tashkent Apartment Block Collapses
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 20 Sep] 33
Dismissals Follow Arrest of Whistle-Blowers *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 33
Moscow TV Youth Program Shows Demonstration 34
Pamyat's Illegal Activities Scored *[Pryakhin]* 34
'Lies' About 'Jewish Question' Derided *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 35
Army Paper Views Democratization Problems *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Sep]* 37
PRAVDA Readers Comment on 'Personality Cult' *[14 Sep]* 38

Economic

Slyunkov Addresses Economic Conference *[PRAVDA 13 Sep]* 40
Aganbegyan Discusses Economic Reform *[Hamburg DIE ZEIT 18 Sep]* 41

Agricultural

Vladimir Oblast Meets Grain Sales Plan *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 17 Sep]* 45
CPSU CC Notes Livestock Successes, Problems 45
Weather-Hit RSFSR Harvest Progress Reported *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Sep]* 45
Vegetable Procurements Down From Last Year *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 46
PRAVDA Reports Grain Harvest Progress Data *[17 Sep]* 46
Daily Reports Feed Harvest Progress *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 18 Sep]* 46
Media Report 14-16 September Developments 47

Military

Military-Patriotic Education Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Sep]* 47

Arbatov Interviewed on INF Agreement
OW181735 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1342 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Interview with Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, by newscaster Taro Kimura—live via satellite relay with Arbatov in a Moscow studio and Kimura in Tokyo NHK studio; interview conducted in English, with simultaneous Japanese translation by unidentified female interpreters; following is from the English]

[Text] [Kimura] Mr Arbatov, thank you very much for joining us. Mr Arbatov, we remember we were together in Reykjavik and so disappointed just about a year ago. But after 1 year we have this agreement. What do you think made it possible that you and the United States agree this time?

[Arbatov] You know, I would hesitate to say that it was mainly due to our efforts. But I think the facts are on the table and we were very consistent in our, you know, in our attempts to break through those obstacles which stacked up on the way to an agreement. At first we agreed to withdraw this INF issue from the Reykjavik package, then after it we agreed. The Americans made new, you know, also created new obstacles, and we made new, I would say, exercises in flexibility. They introduced the issue of weapons which are of shorter range. We had in mind more the peace and security and disarmament in the Pacific and had in mind our future relations with Japan, China, and other countries of the region. So step after step we cleared the way to the agreement.

I would not say that the Americans did nothing (?in this way); it would not be correct. They also wanted-...[changes thought] I think that President Reagan wants very much to have a summit, and for this he understands he has to have an agreement. Therefore he is cooperating together with Secretary Shultz. I think it is very good that President Reagan, who started with a very, I would say, negative disposition toward arms control agreements, arms control negotiations, has come to a conclusion that it is the number one priority and a real statesmanship, and he does not want to go away from political life as the President of the United States without an agreement. [sentence as heard] I think it is very good, very good for America, good for Russia, good for Japan, good for everybody.

[Kimura] Do you think this timing—the United States has elections next year and Mr Reagan has not much time left—do you think this timing helped Mr Reagan to make up his mind?

[Arbatov] You know, I am always concerned as a student of the United States how much the foreign policy of the country is a hostage to their internal policy, and I would be less than honest with you if I would not have this concern at the moment, connected not so much with the presidential election as with the timetable of the Congress. You know, we see an attempt to repeat the Reykjavik exercise. Before Reykjavik the President of the United States told the people in Congress, please withdraw all your resolutions, all your amendments; otherwise you impede the negotiations. They had no way; they agreed with it and have given much more for the arms race than they would have given otherwise. Today with concern I heard the President speaking about it, answering one of the questions during the press conference, that he also wished the Congress to just take back all the considerations it had about the many problems of disarmament. I think it is bad, but, you know, with the timing you do not have much choice. The President has to be there about 16 months so you have just, (?he has no ways). We did not use it in any way. We honestly want an agreement; we do not want to use this political calendar of the United States and their events, but we also have no options. We have only one President, and this President has to be there 16 months; if he wants, we are ready. We went more than half way to have the agreement.

[Kimura] So, in a way, it was better for the Soviets to make a deal at this time than wait for another President to come out and start from scratch and probably take another 2 or 3 years to come to the same level. Am I correct to say this?

[Arbatov] Yes. You know, I would say that it would be not correct for us to base our foreign policy on American internal developments. We cannot...[changes thought] We have only one President in the United States. We do not elect him; Americans elect him. We have no other President there, and we have to deal with the President who is there. To wait for another President—we do not even know who the President will be—the time is too precious to make such calculations. So what can we do? The only thing we can do is to do as much as possible to have an arms control agreement, improvement of international relations, reduction of the danger of war with the President we have in the United States at a given moment.

[Kimura] Is it because you have dropped your insistence to link SDI to other nuclear reduction treaty—or you dropped the insistence of keeping the Asian INF—is that the main reason why you, how do you say, gave in to the United States in many fields?

[Arbatov] Well, you know, we did not give in to the United States. We gave in to common sense. I think this was how you can characterize our position. But actually all this issue, it is important politically, symbolically; it is also important in terms of military disarmament. [sentence as heard] But you have to keep in mind also that it comprises only less than 5 percent of the nuclear weapons of Soviet Union and the United States. We are really striving for the big agreement, for the big deal. We do want, our final aim is to do away with all nuclear weapons. On the way what we do want to have an agreement on 50-percent cut in nuclear weapons which would be combined of course also with, you know, abstaining from withdrawal or from violation of ABM

treaty. [sentence as heard] This is how we consider it. We never tied an INF treaty to SDI. It was more complicated. It was a package deal because we made important concessions, to balance out our concessions with the yields which could come in the course of disarmament. From an agreement we made it a package at Reykjavik. Then we—it was, I think, a very wise step and a very politically involved step—we have taken out of this package the INF and opened the way for successful negotiations. I think this is manifestation of political wisdom. I heard somebody say that it has proven that you can start with Russians only from a position of strength. This is nonsense. You cannot make it from a position of strength. You must look at it in a different way. It is a position of equality, a position of wisdom. A position of statesmanship is the only way to negotiate with Russians as well as with Japanese or whoever you have.

[Kimura] The Pershing-1A problem was untouched. Do you think you can persuade East Germans or Czechoslovakians, you know, when you are taking away your SS-20 and say, we are taking this out but they may shoot with the shorter range missile?

[Arbatov] Well, you know, it is not the final agreement which ends all negotiations and all agreements. We have put forward, you know, a proposal to do away with all nuclear weapons. We have also made the proposal for a nuclear-free corridor, a corridor in Europe just along the line dividing NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, to make it free of all tactical nuclear weapons. If it is agreed upon—it was the Palme commission's proposal initially—if it is agreed upon, then the Germans—West Germans and East Germans—and Czechoslovakians, and everybody will feel safe also from tactical nuclear weapons.

Levin Comments on Negotiations Decision

LD182119 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Text] It is noted in the joint USSR-U.S. statement that foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosieyvich Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz have agreed to begin full-scale bilateral negotiations on the limitation and ultimately on putting a complete stop to nuclear testing. Here is a news commentary; Viktor Levin is at the microphone:

[Levin] The negotiations, which the leaders of the USSR and the U.S. foreign departments have agreed on, must begin before 1 December. As part of the first step the sides have agreed to work out effective methods of verification which will allow for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty of 1974 on the limitation of underground testing of nuclear weapons, and the treaty of 1976 on nuclear explosions for peaceful aims.

These treaties are often called threshold treaties, because they determined the maximum yield of 150 kilotons for nuclear explosions. One must say that the principles laid down in these treaties have played their role. Although through the fault of the United States the treaties have not been ratified, both sides comply with the established limitations. However, this does not mean in the least that the ratification of treaties has lost meaning. Such a precedent does exist.

Following the refusal by the United States to ratify the SALT II Treaty, the treaty on the limitation of strategic weapons, the sides have agreed to observe its provisions. But the present U.S. Administrations cast the treaty aside as soon as it considered the limits for strategic weapons set up by the treaty burdensome. Therefore I repeat that ratification is significant from the viewpoint of principle and practice, and the decision to bring the matter toward this can only be welcomed. Moreover, this must be followed by new intermediate decisions on the path toward the final goal—a complete halt to nuclear tests.

Of course, it would be better if the problem were solved immediately. For example, to put an end to nuclear explosions, and agree on how to bring it about. The Soviet Union proposed exactly this kind of method while it observed a unilateral moratorium for 1 and 1/2 years on all nuclear explosions. The United States turned out to be unprepared for such a radical solution to the problem. They believe that one must go forward step by step. We also agree to this—the important thing is to go forward, and it is especially important to reach a clearly established goal—to put a complete stop to nuclear tests. By doing this we shall not only rid the earth of the nuclear explosions which disfigure it—although this too is also extremely important—but we will end the development of nuclear weapons and we will make a decisive step on the path toward their liquidation.

The goodwill of the Soviet Union and its firm determination to use all opportunities to free mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction has been reflected in its willingness to reach an agreement on a basis of a compromise, and in our approach to the issue of verification, which the U.S. side for a long time used as an argument to justify its negative position. The Soviet Union's willingness for any kind of verification, which has been proven in practice, has negated any excuses. The decision taken at the negotiations in Washington is gratifying. One would very much like to see that the negotiations reach their final goal as soon as possible—an accord on a complete halt to nuclear tests.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Lauds Peace Policy

PM171610 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Following a Course of Peace and Security"]

[Excerpts] In less than 2 months' time Soviet people and all progressive mankind will mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the revolution that was the greatest event of the 20th century. The revolution laid the foundations for the most profound process of democratization of international relations and

paved the way for the establishment on earth of universal, indestructible peace and equal cooperation among the peoples.

All these years, beginning with its first legislative act—the Decree on Peace—the Land of the Soviets has fought systematically and persistently to deliver mankind from wars. In resolving the problems of international security, it combines, in its foreign policy, firmness of principles and positions and tactical flexibility and readiness for mutually acceptable compromises. In the postwar period alone the Soviet Union, strictly following a Leninist course of peaceful coexistence, has put forward more than 100 concrete proposals aimed at curbing the arms race and at nuclear disarmament. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union has brought to the latest UN General Assembly session a substantial package of fresh ideas and approaches, seeking to place the cause of forming a comprehensive system of international security on a practical footing.

The peoples' peace-loving aspirations are, however, opposed by the activity of the most bellicose and reactionary imperialist circles. Seeking not cooperation among states, but confrontation, not disarmament, but the stockpiling of weapons, not the strengthening of confidence and mutual understanding among peoples, but the whipping up of alienation and hostility, these forces hope to secure for themselves more favorable positions in the struggle against democracy and progress. They would like, by achieving military superiority, to change in their own favor the correlation of forces in the international arena, and resolve by nuclear missile "arguments" the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism.

In these conditions the fraternal socialist countries consider it their first duty to their peoples to reliably ensure their security. To this end they are obliged to have an appropriate defense potential. The most important provision of the Warsaw Pact's new military doctrine, reflecting its defensive nature, is that in the building and development of the armed forces the socialist community countries are guided by the need to maintain military equilibrium at the lowest possible level and by the expediency of reducing arms to within the limits of a necessary sufficiency for defense. The allied socialist states do not lay claim to greater security than other countries, but nor will they accept less. The entire system of defense readiness of the fraternal alliance is constructed in such a way as to stop an aggressor and thwart his criminal designs, and if aggression against any Warsaw Pact state becomes a fact, resolutely to rebuff it.

For nearly 70 years the eyes of millions of people in the world have been turned to the Land of the Soviets, the land of Great October—eyes full of gratitude and hope. Today, as always, the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, struggles tirelessly against war, for peace, and for the preservation of civilization.

'Double Standards' on Verification Hit

PM141123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 87 Second Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov "Commentary": "Double Standards"]

[Text] The U.S. congressmen and experts who recently visited the construction site of the Soviet radar station in the Krasnoyarsk region have stated that it does not violate the ABM Treaty, and it cannot possibly violate it for at least another few years.

They have submitted their own photographs and even videotape of the station and its individual units and components to substantiate this fact. In the opinion of the congressmen and the U.S. press, the visit to the radar station was an unprecedented event in the task of monitoring observance of arms control agreements and an extremely important step toward strengthening trust between the United States and the Soviet Union. Well, we quite agree with this, of course.

The whole world can see how honestly we treat the most exacting mutual monitoring and verification measures. We immediately gave our consent to the unexpected visit by Western inspectors to the site of military maneuvers in the USSR. U.S. scientists and congressmen were able to observe an experiment in Kazakhstan in the interests of effectively verifying the yield of nuclear tests. Finally, there was the visit to the Krasnoyarsk radar station.

What has been the official Washington reaction to all this? After all, Washington has claimed for many years that the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar station is in violation of the ABM Treaty. Now, after the congressmen's visit, it would be perfectly reasonable to expect some change and an unbiassed appraisal. But this has not been the case, alas. Whatever the Soviet side does, it is never "enough" as far as Washington is concerned.

White House and State Department representatives have received (and carried out) instructions to claim that the administration still regards the Krasnoyarsk radar station as a "violation of the ABM Treaty" and that "this kind of visit cannot be a substitute for effective monitoring measures." Washington is not in any hurry, however, to at least take steps similar to the Soviet initiatives. The State Department is creating visa obstacles for our scientists who are willing to visit the United States to observe nuclear tests. There has also been no mention of inviting Soviet parliamentarians to the American radar stations in Greenland and Britain. Or perhaps such a visit would confirm that the stations there are in violation of the ABM Treaty?

One gets the impression that the U.S. Administration is approaching the verification problem with double standards. It is trying to cast aspersions on Soviet sincerity in any way it can, while it has no desire itself to display even a fraction of the same readiness for real monitoring measures. It wants us to be completely open while its own doings remain in the shadows.

Double standards in this respect are only a short step away from a two-faced policy as a whole.

NATO 'Upgrading' Plans Bar Way to Pact

PM081011 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 87 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Chernyshev, TASS observer for military questions: "Obstructionist Position"]

[Text] At a time when the eyes of the whole world are focused on Geneva, where thanks to the Soviet side's constructive, dynamic position the conditions have been created for concluding an agreement on the first step in the nuclear disarmament sphere — the destruction on a global scale of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles — more and more evidence is emerging of the dangerous "surprises" which NATO is preparing for Europe. An agreement between the USSR and the United States has still not been elaborated, but the North Atlantic alliance is already looking for loopholes with the aim of evading its provisions and is taking measures in advance to nullify it and secure for the bloc the opportunity of fully compensating for the reduction of U.S. nuclear means in Western Europe in the event of an accord being achieved on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

The elimination of even some nuclear weapons does not suit certain circles in some NATO countries. They are afraid that the obsolete "nuclear deterrence" strategy will be weakened and they are demanding that the nuclear weapons destined to be scrapped under the future agreement be replaced by a "system with an analogous deterrent effect." They are most worried by the fact that the "fastest means of delivering a nuclear strike" will disappear with the destruction of the U.S. Pershing-2 medium-range missiles in Europe. NATO military leaders, *The Washington Post* wrote, consider the proposed treaty between the USSR and the United States to be acceptable only on the condition that NATO retains in the following decade scenarios for actions guaranteeing the possibility of delivering nuclear strikes against the territory of the USSR.

At the recent session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group at the defense minister level (Stavanger, Norway) Pentagon chief C. Weinberger, West Germany's *Stern* magazine reported, presented a "whole range" of new weapons systems which the West supposedly needs if the "double-zero option" becomes a reality.

The NATO countries' defense ministers, while welcoming the "improved prospects" of a U.S.-Soviet agreement, at the same time confirmed their intention to carry out the modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe. They put a brave face on a sorry business, so to speak. Any "zero option" needs replacement, that is, "arms upgrading" — such is the credo of the supporters of retaining nuclear weapons on both sides of the Atlantic.

What do the plans prepared in NATO for so-called "compensation" for the reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe envisage, plans which Britain's *The News on Sunday* described extremely succinctly as "a swindle" and a ruse "to deceive the Russians"?

First, they envision siting in the British isles an additional number of F-111 nuclear-capable fighter-bombers. According to Britain's *The Guardian*, these additional nuclear weapon delivery vehicles may be stationed at the U.S. Air Force Base at Fairford (Gloucestershire). This report was essentially confirmed by [British Defense Secretary] G. Younger. The U.S. bombers may be equipped with at least 280 long-range cruise missiles. It is not impossible that Washington may insist on siting this type of aircraft on the territory of other West European NATO countries. It is not for nothing that Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland recently stated that the government of which she is the head refuses to provide bases on Norwegian territory for U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers.

Second, the possibility of siting in certain Western European NATO countries, including Britain, FB-111A medium bombers with nuclear weapons on board is being considered. It is also proposed to equip F-4 fighter-bombers based on the European continent with shorter-range cruise missiles.

Third, great significance is attached to ensuring the permanent presence in the seas around Europe of U.S. submarines and surface ships equipped with sea-launched cruise missiles. It is also proposed to deploy sea-launched cruise missiles under the control of the NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe. In particular it is proposed to place U.S. "Los Angeles" submarines with cruise missiles under NATO jurisdiction. According to a *News on Sunday* report, the U.S. submarines based in Holy Loch alone may be armed with 108 cruise missiles. G. Younger stated unashamedly that the idea of making Britain a base for submarines equipped with cruise missiles "figured in all the lists of potential measures" for eliminating any gaps which emerge in the NATO "nuclear deterrence" forces as a result of the loss of the ground-launched cruise missiles and the Pershing-2 missiles.

Fourth, scenarios are being studied for creating bases for B-52 bombers with air-launched cruise missiles in Britain, Iceland, or Turkey.

Fifth, possibilities for the broad introduction into NATO armed forces in Europe of ground-launched cruise missiles in a "nonnuclear version" are being examined.

As we can see, the "range" is indeed extremely broad: Instead of a real reduction in the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, NATO is proposing large-scale unilateral "arms upgrading." As the Western press reports, it is noteworthy that together with the Government of Norway the Governments of Denmark, the Netherlands, and Greece are expressing anxiety at the plans to build up nuclear arms by way of "compensation" after the conclusion of the agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

Indeed, only inveterate cynics could describe the treaty on the destruction of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles as a genuine agreement if the NATO countries' governments approve recommendations to deploy "compensatory" nuclear weapons systems. NATO's unilateral "arms upgrading" would merely change the nature of nuclear confrontation and would not lead to a real reduction of it in Europe. I think that all the above facts can scarcely attest to the sincerity of the rhetorical statements by official representatives of the United States and certain other NATO countries on the possibility of reaching an agreement in Geneva in the near future. There will not be an agreement unless the NATO military's far-reaching plans for the North Atlantic bloc to secure unilateral advantages at the negotiating table are blocked.

Karaganda Explosion Experiment Viewed

PM110925 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 87 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel M. Rebrov: "Echoes of Nuclear Explosions. Report from a Geophysical Test Site"]

[Text] Facts About Facts [subhead]

On 13 August 1987 instruments at the USSR national seismic monitoring service picked up echoes of an event which alerted the experts. The apparatus interpreted the signs: The instant at which longitudinal and transverse waves arrived, bearing, angle of incidence, data on latitude and longitude, and magnitude (what seismologists call the relative amount of energy released at the source of an earthquake)...

What had happened? By some strange, accidental whim had there been a strong quake somewhere or had there been a "tug at the earth's skin"? After all, there are many hundreds of earthquakes every year. No, on this occasion nature was not to blame. She had not produced a cunning surprise. It was the work of people exploding yet another nuclear device. On hearing the echo of the nuclear Moloch, the seismic monitoring service facilities established the exact coordinates of the epicenter of the explosion and its yield. On that day there had been an explosion at the U.S. test site in Nevada in excess of 150 kilotons.

On 21 August the USSR Embassy in Washington made representations to the U.S. State Department, saying, in particular:

It is a gross violation of the Soviet-U.S. accord on confining the yield of underground nuclear explopsions to the aforementioned ceiling (150 kilotons—M. Rebrov), as stipulated by the 1974 treaty limiting underground nuclear weapon tests, and is another attempt to hinder progress toward solving the question of a general and complete ban on nuclear weapon tests."

These are facts about facts. The inevitable question is: What are the smallest detectable nuclear explosions and is it possible to "conceal" such activities? What is Happening Amid the Peace and Quiet? [subhead]

On the morning of 1 September Aeroflot aircraft No 65912 left Vnukovo airport bound for Karaganda. A group of Soviet and U.S. seismologists and three U.S. congressmen, Thomas Downey, Robert Carr, and Jim Moody, and House Armed Services Committee staffer Anthony Battista were traveling to Kazakhstan. The U.S. scientists from the University of Nevada at Reno, the Institute of Oceanology in California, a university in Colorado, and the Natural Resources Defense Council are planning to measure the strength of the blast wave as a result of the detonation of a nonnuclear device with a yield equivalent to 10 metric tons of TNT, or one-hundredth of a kiloton.

On the morning of 2 September the experts went to the area where the experiment was to take place—the valley of the Ulken River, north-west of Karaganda. There they were given a chart of the blast point showing the exact coordinates, the number of holes containing explosives, the distance between them, the depth and the ground characteristics. The amount of explosives used was also specified—10.145 kg.

It was quiet in the Kazakhstan steppes. In the warmth of the fall sun you could breathe in the aroma of artemisia. At 1058 hours Moscow time two red flares signaled the start of the experiment. At exactly 1100 hours, at the sixth pip, the blast wave shook the earth, causing the ground to rise at the site of the explosion.

At that moment the U.S. Phase-2 seismic apparatus, located at stations in Karkaralinsk, Bayan-Lul, and Kara-Su, recorded the event, as the scientists call it. The possibility of verification [kontrol] had been demonstrated once again.

Academician Ye. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, commented on the first in the series of explosions:

"By recording nonnuclear explosions with the aid of U.S. apparatus and with the involvement of U.S. experts, we will be able to determine how accurate the reading of signals is, differentiate between explosions, distinguishing industrial from nuclear, and determine the place and time of an event with precision.

...The tape chugs out slowly. The recorder leaves an almost straight line on it. It is a kind of cardiogram recording so-called heart murmurs. But then there is a sudden leap. Somewhere deep beneath the ground a sensitive element has vibrated on picking up the artificial subterranean storm. It is documentary evidence that it is actually possible to monitor [kontrol za] all nuclear explosions, even tiny ones, measured in hundredths of a kiloton. Two Aspects [subhead]

The question of monitoring [kontrol za] nuclear explosions has two aspects: Political and technical. In this connection we would stress that assurances that explosions are necessary in order to maintain the reliability of U.S. stocks of nuclear weapons are being totally refuted.

and by admissions on the Potomac, incidentally. The Pentagon leadership has said more than once that nuclear tests are a means and outward sign of nuclear strike weapons refinement, a method of checking out equipment and tactics employed in using it. The hackneyed theses about "deterrence," "equilibrium," and "protecting the interests of the free world" have been totally compromised. Today every sensible person knows that nuclear explosions are needed not for deterrence, but for the creation of new types of nuclear weapons, that is, essentially, for further preparations for war.

Science, like politics, deals with facts, and they are as follows: Since the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, according to unofficial estimates, 60,000 nuclear warheads of 71 types for 116 weapon systems have been produced in the United States. Around 1 billion dollars has been spent on this. There are currently 30 types of these warheads in the Pentagon's nuclear arsenal and total stocks exceed 26,000 units.

References to the effect that the United States was "compelled to catch up with the USSR and restore the balance" in terms of the number of nuclear explosions and nebulous arguments about "historical experience" sound equally naive. The same statistics show that in the period 16 July 1945 through 1 January 1986 the United States carried out 801 nuclear explosions, while the USSR carried out 563. The false thesis is exposed by other facts as well.

"Given the vast quantity of nuclear weapons that already exists in the world," the well-known physicist L. Feoktistov, correspondiong member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said, "given the total absence of any restrictions on their future production, and given the slow, but steady spread of nuclear armaments to all parts of the world, there is an enormous danger that the shaky balance of 'power' might be upset. Supposing that happened, there would be no one left to cite historical experience... Expert Opinion [subhead]

Now for the technical aspect. Those who are vigorously seeking arguments in favor of the "verification [kontrol] problem" talk about the possibility of an "underground" nuclear test masquerading as an earthquake. But these so-called arguments do not stand up to criticism. Modern technical facilities can unerringly distinguish the one from the other. In a conversation with journalists, Academician V. Goldanskiy cited the example of the seismological station in the city of Obninsk. Last spring it easily picked up an underground echo from Nevada where a nuclear device of only 1.3 kilotons had been detonated.

The seismic stations that the USSR and the United States possess enable them to reliably carry out verification, moreover the resolving power of the instruments is constantly improving.

I have met with many seismologists, seen their apparatus, and heard about its potential and the "conductivity" of rock. There is an explosion at a construction site or in a quarry, a volcano awakes on the ocean floor, a meteorite falls—the sensitive instruments will immediately tell you where and when it occurred.

The seismic apparatus not only picks up the tremulous "voices" of the earth, recording movements of millionths of a millimeter, but also differentiates, ranks by size, amplifies millions of times over, and conducts a comprehensive analysis. Even when Washington's information services "forget" to report tests, there is no concealing the fact that an explosion has occurred.

International document SD-712 has been submitted to the United Nations. It concludes on the basis of a large amount of data that it is now possible to "detect and identify nuclear test explosions down to any required yield level." I would add that modern technical facilities are such that they make it possible to implement verification [kontrol] with sufficient accuracy both by national technical facilities and, if necessary, by on-site inspection. Last year's Soviet-U.S. experiment by seismologists at the Soviet nuclear test site near Semipalatinsk confirm what has been said. The curious thing is (or, rather, ironical, perhaps) that the U.S. seismic equipment set up not far from the Soviet nuclear test site recorded undergound explosions in Nevada on two occasions (that was in July).

The second important fact is that the equipment the Americans brought with them enabled the U.S. seismologists to obtain information on geological conditions in our test site area, and compare it with the similar properties of the Nevada area. The conclusion was that the tests in Kazakhstan sound "louder" than tests of equal size carried out deep down in Nevada. No further comment is needed.

I believe that the facts will suffice, although one could cite the views of the U.S. seismologists: Jonathan Berger, Charles Archambo, David Chevez, and Joan Gomberg [final three surnames as published], and even former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. They all agree that if one deploys seismic sensors on the territory of the USSR and the United States, verification [kontrol] will not be a problem. That is why the "realistic or not" debate can scarcely be called an argument. It is just an excuse that the U.S. ruling circles require; that is why the adoption of a sensible decision has been delayed now for 29 years.

Academician M. Sadovskiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Earth Physics, noted that the entire territory of our country is surrounded by nuclear test monitoring [slezheniye] stations that have been set up either by the United States or under its direction. The number of stations is great: Approximately 200, compared with 20 Soviet stations. Nevertheless, the USSR is agreeable to reciprocal verification [kontrol], and 20 Soviet stations will suffice to monitor [slezheniye] the nuclear tests conducted outside our country.

Again the question arises: Do 200 U.S. stations equipped with first-class apparatus do a worse job than 20 Soviet ones?

I would point out that the Soviet approach is by nature utterly realistic. Disarmament without verification [kontrol] is impossible, but verification [kontrol] without disarmament is pointless as well. The Soviet Union is amenable to verification [kontrol], as it has stated publicly on more than one occasion. As for the monitoring [proverka] measures, they can always be agreed on, given good will.

These are the scientific arguments against the nuclear threat. It is very important to understand the main thing, which is that when nuclear explosions occur, what is being tested above all is politics, not weapons. New Thinking [subhead]

So the experiment in the vicinity of Karaganda has been completed. It is proposed that it will be continued in Nevada at the beginning of next year. Certain ideas occur to one in this connection. Recently we have come to realize increasingly clearly and acutely that science and technology, having progressed rather a long way along the path of realistic verification [kontrol] potential, are encountering in places hopelessly backward thinking. With some people it is because they are deluded, with others it is a case of evil intent. This was also the view of the foreign colleagues on the trip.

Expounding our country's approach to the verification [kontrol] issue, M.S. Gorbachev stressed: "We can say quite definitely that for us verification [verification] is not a problem." The draft basic provisions of a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests, submitted at the disarmament conference on 9 June 1987, is a convincing indication of the USSR's willingness to adopt all-embracing verification [kontrol] measures. It proposes a wide range of forms and methods of verification [kontrol]—both national and international. They include the creation of an international seismic monitoring [kontrol] system; exchange of data on radioactivity in the air; verification [kontrol], involving international inspectors, that explosions are not taking place at test sites, and the right to carry out on-site inspections on the territory of other countries which have signed the treaty.

In short, the times demand the ability to think in a new way. The planet needs "nuclear" peace and quiet.

Senator Cites Effort To 'Sink' ABM Pact

PM160817 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "What Has the White House Thought Up?"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration has for a number of years been laying the political, diplomatic, and legal groundwork for withdrawing from the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems, *Reuter* reports.

This conclusion is contained in a report drawn up by the U.S. Congressional Research Service at the request of Senator W. Proxmire. With regard to the ABM Treaty the White House is step by step retracing the route it took last year which ended with the United States formally exceeding the limits of the SALT II Treaty. "The administration intends to sink the ABM Treaty. Congress must be vigilant," Senator Proxmire emphasizes in a note accompanying the text of the report.

CEMA Executive Committee Communique

PM181119 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

["Communique on the 124th Session of the CEMA Executive Committee"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The 124th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Moscow 14-15 September.

The following representatives of the countries in the Executive Committee took part in the session: A. Lukanov from Bulgaria; J. Marjai from Hungary; Tran Duc Luong from the SRV; G. Kleiber from the GDR; A. Esquivel from Cuba; M. Peljee from Mongolia; W. Gwiazda from Poland; S. Stancu from Romania; A. Antonov from the USSR; R. Rohlicek from Czechoslovakia; and CEMA Secretary V. Sychev.

In accordance with the agreement between the CEMA and the SFRY Government, M. Pejovski, member of the Federal Executive Council and SFRY permanent representative to CEMA, took part in the Executive Committee's work.

The session was chaired by A. Antonov, the Soviet representative to the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee discussed proposals for restructuring the mechanism for multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration, and CEMA activity. It was stressed that cooperation among the CEMA countries must go further in promoting the implementation of the strategic goals of their economic and social development—goals set by the fraternal states' communist and workers parties—and the effective utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor and the strengthening of their positions in the world economy.

Having discussed the progress in implementing the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, including in the priority avenue of "Comprehensive Automation," the session participants noted that cooperation has been launched on virtually all problems. The legal, treaty, and organizational conditions for the program's fulfillment have basically been created. The first finished developments have been put into production. At the same time the need was stressed for effective measures to be taken to ensure that the work done within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 secures the achievement of the highest level of development in the most important avenues of scientific and technical progress and meets the CEMA countries' requirement for the latest equipment and technology on the basis of international specialization and production sharing.

To organize the work to coordinate the CEMA countries' national economic development plans in the next 5-year period, the Executive Committee approved a draft program for coordinating the CEMA countries' national economic plans in 1991-1995, along with a list of the economic cooperation problems being coordinated on a multilateral basis.

Questions of cooperation among the CEMA countries in developing electricity generation up to the year 2000—including in building up generating potential, primarily via nuclear power—were examined. Ways were outlined for expanding collaboration in this sphere, including the joint quest for new technical solutions, specifically in the development and assimilation of progressive new forms of power generating equipment. A general plan for the future development of the CEMA countries' united power grids and the grids of the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia for the period up to the year 2000, including measures to improve the reliability of their work, was approved.

The Executive Committee approved measures for the development of cooperation between the CEMA and the Latin American economic system in 1987-1988.

Other questions of cooperation among the CEMA countries were also examined at the session.

The CEMA Executive Committee session was held in an atmosphere of friendship, frank [otkrovennyy] exchange of opinions, and mutual understanding.

CEMA Coal Commission Signs Protocol

PM141251 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "CEMA Diary"]

[Text] The signing of a protocol 13 September completed the session of the CEMA countries' standing commission for cooperation in the coal industry. During the talks and mutual consultations the prospects were outlined for improving equipment for extracting underground solid fuel through the year 2000 on the basis of sharing and specialization.

The partners' duties were assigned in scientific and technical progress and other avenues. The GDR will continue to specialize in open mining work, Poland in planning and constructing mines, the USSR in underground coal deposit developments, and the CSSR in coal enrichment and processing.

Korionov on CP's 'Grave Difficulties'

PM171503 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 87 Second Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Korionov "Political Diary": "What Is the Cause of the Problems?"]

[Text] Our editorial office has been receiving letters from people expressing concern at certain processes which have been taking place recently in the international workers movement, including the communist movement. Concern, for example, at the reduction in the number of votes cast for communist candidates by voters

at elections in the capitalist countries. The bourgeois press has used this fact as grounds for claiming that the communist movement has gone into decline and is experiencing a "crisis." For example, I recently read with surprise a remark by a foreign progressive newspaper that stated "it is impossible to speak of an international communist movement today." I do not think anyone can accept such an assertion.

However, it is an undeniable fact that the world workers and communist movement has indeed encountered a number of grave difficulties in recent decades. What are the causes? There are quite a few. The author of these lines does not claim in any way that a short newspaper diary can give an exhaustive answer to such a complex question. But it can express some thoughts.

First and foremost, it should be said that the particular crucial period which the whole world is experiencing could not fail to affect the situation within the communist and workers movement, as within other detachments of the world revolutionary movement. The international conditions of their work are new, too.

The growth of liberation and anti-imperialist forces which is characteristic of our time has forced the bourgeoisie to seek new means and methods to shore up the conditions of exploitation and pseudodemocracy in the capitalist world. In addition to the old methods (repression of working people and their political and professional organizations, anticommunist propaganda, political pressure, and so forth) the monopolistic bourgeoisie has also made particularly extensive use of the structural changes which have occurred in the working class as a result of the scientific and technical revolution. Not all the advanced forces, particularly in the developed capitalist countries, were immediately able to counter the bourgeoisie's new tactics with their own effective tactics corresponding to the changed conditions. The reality of our times is that left-wing forces, primarily those in Western Europe, have not yet managed to propose an effective alternative to the right-wing offensive. This political confrontation is continuing now and even increasing.

The new political situation has resulted in divergences on strategic and tactical questions in certain elements of the workers and communist movement. There is no need to recall that the elaboration of strategy and tactics is a matter for each communist and workers party, which answers for its activity to the working people of its own country. No one has the right to impose externally a political line on any party. In some places, however, the elaboration of this line has been so "doctored" that this could not fail to affect the party's authority and influence among the working class. In a number of cases the divergences have sometimes become so acute that they led to the splitting of some communist parties.

To be frank, the problems which have occurred in a number of socialist countries have had a definite effect on the atmosphere within the communist movement. After all, socialism's main strength is its strength of example. This confirms once more just how great a responsibility the ruling communist parties bear with regard to the international revolutionary movement. Therefore the successful fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress' course and the vigorous implementation of restructuring in our country, like the successes of development in the other socialist states, are of paramount significance for the prospects of progress and peace.

It is not by force of arms but by demonstrating the advantages of the new system that socialism will win the hearts of working people. In many spheres it has clearly shown those advantages. It is a fact that the first socialist country made the transition from backwardness to progress in a historically short time and became the second largest industrial power on earth. It is a fact that in the socialist countries such problems as the elimination of mass poverty, the cultural revolution, the nationalities question, and others have been resolved, problems which the opposing social formation has been unable to solve. Socialism has contributed decisively to the unprecedented fact of more than 40 years of peace in the most tense region of the world—Europe. But socialism is capable of even more. Its assets include the new political thinking and the program for a nuclear-free world, for an all-embracing system of international security, and for ensuring mankind's survival and peaceful future. We believe that it will prove equal to this historic task.

The new stage of development which the communist and workers movement has now reached makes increased demands on its supporters—in both the national and the international context. The revolutionary movement has become highly diverse. The problems facing its detachments are enormous. The conditions in which their activity is being launched are exceptionally complex and diverse. The responsibility which they bear in the present-day situation is extremely great. However, there is no reason to overdramatize the existing problems. The strength of our movement lies in its class solidarity and loyalty to the most progressive ideals of mankind. It has every reason for believing that it can cope with the temporary difficulties associated with the development of one of the most influential forces of the present day.

Reaction to Soviet-U.S. Missile Agreement

NATO Comments

LD181515 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1448 GMT 18 Sep

["NATO Reaction to Soviet-U.S. Agreement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Brussels, 18 Sep (TASS)—"NATO welcomes the prospect of a possible conclusion of an agreement on medium-range missiles. We hope that the agreement will become the start of a process in which we shall be able to live in conditions of the present security, but with a lower level of armaments", declared an official representative of NATO headquarters to a TASS correspondent.

Perez De Cuellar on Accord

LD181942 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 18 TASS—A spokesman for the United Nations secretary-general said Javier Perez de Cuellar "welcomes wholeheartedly" the announcement that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed in principle to conclude a treaty eliminating their intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles.

In a statement issued here today, the spokesman said further:

"The secretary-general feels that this agreement is highly significant in several respects.

"In the first place, it will result in the first net reduction in nuclear weapons.

"Furthermore, it breaks new and important ground in the area of verification.

"The secretary-general earnestly hopes that the two sides will capitalize on the momentum which this historic breakthrough will create and pursue with renewed vigor negotiations in other areas of disarmament.

"In this context, the secretary-general is most gratified by the announcement that the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed on procedures for further negotiations on a complete test ban and on the reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons. The secretary-general has frequently noted the importance of a comprehensive nuclear test ban in moving toward the goal of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

"The secretary-general believes that the understandings announced today in Washington can encourage the ongoing disarmament negotiations in the conference on disarmament in Geneva and have a positive impact on the consideration of the whole range of important disarmament issues on the agenda of the General Assembly.

"The secretary-general is pursuaded that these understandings can contribute to an improved international climate that should facilitate the resolution of problems affecting the interest of the entire international community."

Shevardnadze, PRC's Wu Xueqian Meet

LD210541 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, met Sunday with Wu Xueqian, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), a member of the State Council and foreign minister of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

During the friendly meeting, they exchanged information about the progress of the building of socialism in their countries.

The Soviet side stressed that the USSR is entering the most crucial phase of perestroyka (restructuring drive)—the period of practical work. "The PRC's successes in building socialism are noted in our country as well," Wu Xueqian was told.

He spoke about preparations for the 8th Congress of the CPC, the Chinese people's efforts to further socialist modernization, and the interest demonstrated in China in the perestroyka effort in the Soviet Union.

As international issues were discussed, Wu Xueqian's attention was called to Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure world" which was published in the newspaper *Pravda* on September 17. The foreign minister of the PRC said the Chinese side is studying in a most serious manner the new Soviet ideas and proposals for creating a comprehensive system of international security.

When notes were compared on disarmament problems, Wu Xueqian said that much significance is attached in China to talks between the USSR and the United States and that the understanding reached in principle to sign a Soviet-American agreement on INF (intermediate-range nuclear force) and SRINF (shorter-range INF) missiles is welcomed there.

The Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers expressed themselves in favor of expediting drafting work on a convention for banning and destroying chemical weapons.

A common desire was expressed for an early end to the Iran-Iraq conflict on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 598.

The sides reiterated support for the latest initiatives by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for easing tension in the Korean peninsula and securing the withdrawal of American troops from there.

The problem of a settlement of the situation regarding Kampuchea was discussed, with the sides setting forth their positions in detail.

They also examined the key aspects of bilateral relations. The ministers noted with content the progressive development of Soviet-Chinese relations and contacts and expressed confidence that the ever more diverse and frequent exchanges in various fields will continue helping better mutual understanding and the fastest possible progress of Soviet-Chinese relations to complete normalization.

Shevardnadze Meets Iran's Velayati

LD210506 Moscow TASS in English 0502 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, has had a meeting here with Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

During their talks, which passed in a businesslike atmosphere, they held a thorough and frank exchange of views on the situation in the region.

The Soviet side noted that the continuing war and escalating hostilities between Iran and Iraq have been actively exploited by Western countries for an unprecedented military buildup in the Persian Gulf and for pressure on the states and peoples of the region from positions of strength.

All this has significantly complicated the U.N. secretary-general's mediation efforts towards an end to the senseless bloodletting.

Velayati set forth Iran's position on these issues.

As the bilateral relationship was discussed, a mutual desire was expressed to continue developing it on a long-term footing.

Bloc Ministers Hold Discussion at UN

LD201352 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 20 TASS—A meeting of the heads of the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly had a meeting in New York on Saturday.

Taking part in the meeting were the foreign ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic—Anatoliy Gurinovich, the Hungarian People's Republic—Peter Varkonyi, the GDR—Oscar Fischer, Cuba—Isidoro Malmierca, the Mongolian People's Republic—Mangalyn Dugersuren, the Polish People's Republic—Marian Orzechowski, the USSR—Eduard Shevardnadze, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic—Vladimir Kravets, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—Bohuslav Chnoupek.

A substantive exchange of opinions was held on questions of the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly with a view of advancing foreign policy initiatives of the fraternal countries. It was noted that the international forum that has opened faces significant and paramount objectives—to consolidate the emergent positive tendencies in world affairs, to overcome the stereotypes of confrontation, to introduce new political thinking into the practice of international relations.

Underlined in this connection was the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's September 17 article which was received as the doctrine of a secure world, free from nuclear weapons and violence, helping to find an answer to the question not only of what is to be done, but also how, to make peace a political reality before the end of this century.

The participants in the meeting noted the importance of a broad democratic dialogue at the U.N. General Assembly session with a view of a collective search for ways and means of establishing a comprehensive system of international peace and security and in this context enhancing the role of the United Nations as an indispensable instrument of peace and coordination of actions of states.

Eduard Shevardnadze dwelt in detail on the results of the Washington negotiations. He underlined that from the Soviet side they were held on the basis of the socialist countries' agreed upon peace policy. The participants in the meeting highly assessed the results attained.

The meeting underlined the significance of the agreement on the medium-and shorter range missiles, which opens up realistic prospects for scrapping two classes of nuclear missiles of the USSR and the USA, channelling nuclear disarmament into the area of practical deeds. Underlined at the meeting was the importance of the coming full scale negotiations between the USSR and the USA on limitation and in the final account full termination of nuclear tests, and also of the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on establishing nuclear risk reduction centres. The participants in the meeting declared for the build up of efforts to see to it that the results of the Soviet-American negotiations should promote accelerated advance in all routes leading to a non-nuclear and non-violent world.

Ukrainian Mission Writes Perez De Cuellar

LD071944 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 7 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 7 TASS — The permanent mission of the Ukrainian S.S.R at the United Nations sent a letter to the U.N. secretary-general, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The letter condemned international terrorism, all of its forms and manifestations and all terrorist acts, no matter where they were staged and what their motives were.

Terrorism, the letter went on to say, is an ugly phenomenon that claims the lives of innocent people, disrupts diplomatic activities of states and their representatives, destabilizes international relations, creates dangerous seats of tensions and provokes international conflicts.

The Ukrainian S.S.R. stands for working out effective international measures to preclude terrorism and believes that this can be accomplished only if all states cooperate vigorously and purposefully to that end, the letter said.

Such cooperation is one of the principal elements of the foundation for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, the letter said.

Pugwash Conference Discussions Assessed

PM111301 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[N. Novikov dispatch: "Scientists' Determination. Pugwash Conference in Gmunden Concludes Work"]

[Text] Vienna—For 6 days, on the shores of this marvelous Austrian lake, scientists from 51 countries discussed a problem which now concerns people on every continent: the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

The participants in the conference spoke out heatedly against the arms race. Their arguments were stunning: 1.3 million dollars are spent on the arms race every minute, and every minute 30 people in the world die from starvation and disease.

The participants in the Gmunden conference emphasized in their speeches that the Soviet Union has made and continues to make the maximum possible efforts to stop the senseless arms race—in either nuclear or conventional weapons; has proposed and continues to propose numerous peace initiatives which have met with broad support from the majority of people in the world; and strictly adhered to its nuclear explosions moratorium. All the Soviet peace proposals really prove that the Soviet leadership was serious and sincere when it put forward its nuclear disarmament program on 15 January 1986.

Addressing the final plenary session of the conference, which is a major forum of our time, Nobel Prize laureate Victor Weisskopf (the United States) stressed that the Soviet Union has thrown down a challenge to the West with its peace initiatives. The West must not evade this challenge or peaceable actions aimed at reducing international tension and improving the political climate in the world. The American scientist's words caused a storm of applause from the conference participants.

Your correspondent approached academician V.I. Goldanskiy, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Pugwash conference in Gmunden, and asked him to assess this important international forum of scientists. First and foremost, the academician observed, the entire jubilee conference has proceeded in the spirit of the new political thinking. The Soviet Union's energetic, enterprising domestic and foreign policy is the basis of the new political thinking. You have heard for yourselves today how often during the discussion the conference participants used the Russian word "razryadka" [detente], although the forum was conducted in English.

A distinguishing feature of the now-concluded conference has been the breadth of its scope, in terms of the number of participants and the range of problems discussed. The problem of disarmament, for example, has been discussed extensively and comprehensively. This conference has also been distinguished by the high level of professionalism of its participants. Prestigious naturalists of world renown, academics from the human sciences, political figures, and military experts were actively involved in the Gmunden meeting.

The conference in Gmunden, Academician V.I. Goldanskiy stressed in the conversation, showed that the Pugwash movement has now reached an important stage in consolidating the forces of the international scientific community, which has set itself the aim of resolving the most important problems of today: creating a world without weapons, achieving disarmament for development, and ensuring mankind's survival. This is understandable, because our time demands the maximum effort from every person on earth and his personal contribution to the great task of removing the nuclear threat and preserving life on earth.

This great aim will be pursued by the next, 38th conference of the Pugwash movement, to be held in Tbilisi 28 August through 3 September 1988. The proposed slogan for the Tbilisi conference is "Farewell to Arms. Man's Survival is the Watchword!" This slogan in inspired by Hemingway's famous novel. The movement's members warmly approved of the suggested slogan and the proposal to hold the next conference in the Soviet Union.

The Gmunden conference approved certain changes in the leading bodies of the international Pugwash movement of scientists. V.I. Goldanskiy, Anat.A. Gromyko, and S.P. Kapitsa were elected from the Soviet Union to the council and executive committee.

Dorothy Hodgkin (Britain), president of the international Pugwash movement, winner of the international Lenin Prize "For Strengthening Peace Between Nations," and Nobel Prize laureate, gave the closing speech at the conference. Describing the work of the Gmunden conference, she stressed the "surprising unanimity" of the forum participants on issues relating to scientists' struggle for peace and international security. In this connection D. Hodgkin emphasised the very great significance of the Soviet peace initiatives for the task of improving the world political climate.

Gmunden's congress center, where the conference was held, now stands empty. The meeting's participants

warmly parted from each other with the words: "Until next year's meeting in Tbilisi."

International Situation: Questions & Answers
LD112223 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 11 Sep 87

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, with Commentator Konstantin Patsyuk and Professor Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Patsyuk] Viktor Alekseyevich Yevsyukov, who has forgotten to write his address, asks about the double-zero option, that is, the complete elimination of medium-range missiles and operational-tactical missiles. He expresses misgivings concerning whether our country is taking into account the nuclear forces of Britain and France should we reach an accord with the United States on the elimination of these missiles. We have asked Professor Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' United States and Canada Institute to speak on our program.

[Bogdanov] The problem raised by our esteemed listener is an important one and merits serious consideration. What comes first to mind is that today a way out of the most complicated and dangerous labyrinth of international interwoven networks has to be found using the new political way of thinking. Among other things, it presupposes solving the problem of ensuring the security of states by political means, since in the contemporary period, what is called the nuclear-space age, it has been impossible to ensure the security of any states belonging to different systems using just military and technical means, in other words, on the basis of the arms race. Postwar experience in this field testifies to just one thing: The arms race leads into nuclear blind alleys. There are no winners, and as the weapons accumulate the level of security does not increase, but, on the contrary, is constantly going down and the strategic situation is destabilized.

[Patsyuk] So what is our country proposing in this situation?

[Bogdanov] On the basis of this reality, the Soviet leadership has proposed that ensuring the security of states be transferred from the track of the exhausting nuclear arms race to the path of complete elimination of these by the end of the present century. Since the United States is not prepared to move to solve this problem as a whole in the shortest possible time, our country, displaying political realism, has embarked upon realization of a plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons in phases, gradually. The reasoning behind this kind of approach is to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation steadily, being guided in this by the need to preserve overall parity at each stage of the reduction.

[Patsyuk] And now, I think, there is some point in dwelling on the matter of the medium and operational-tactical missiles.

[Bogdanov] The situation has developed in such a way that it has become possible, thanks to the flexibility and initiative of the Soviet stance, to embark upon preparation of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on the global elimination of intermediate-range and operational-tactical nuclear missiles. The agreement, if it happens, is at present known as the double zero.

[Patsyuk] And what are the positive aspects of this agreement?

[Bogdanov] Just to start with, there would be the virtual elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons. Up until now measures have mainly been taken to control their production. It would reduce the level of nuclear confrontation in the Central European theater, which is oversaturated with conventional and nuclear means of waging war. Nor should it be forgotten that the Pershing-2's flight time to Moscow is, for example, just 8 or 10 minutes, and this threat would be eliminated, which would naturally be conducive to strengthening stability and balance. Of course, the moral and psychological consequences of an agreement on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles would be of immense importance. The possibility of far-reaching Soviet-U.S. accords would be demonstrated in practice, foundations laid down for moving on to the next phases of the elimination of nuclear mass destruction weapons, and doors opened for other countries possessing nuclear weapons, which would be drawn into the process of nuclear disarmament. In short, even a brief enumeration of the consequences of the possible solution of the issue of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is obvious evidence of its benefits.

[Patsyuk] As far as I know, there is, unfortunately, also another aspect to the matter.

[Bogdanov] Realism—and we can conduct an intelligent policy only when guided by realism—brings us back to the fact that, given the existence of the Soviet-U.S. agreement we have mentioned, only 3 percent of the nuclear weapons arsenals that have been stockpiled would be eliminated. For example, after the double zero, the United States would keep in Europe approximately 4,000 units of short-range [oruzhiye maloy dalnosti] or aircraft-based nuclear weapons. The nuclear potential of Britain and France is preserved, which is mentioned anxiously by our esteemed listener.

[Patsyuk] Incidentally, Comrade Savchuk from the town of Korosten in Zhitomir Oblast also expressed concern on this matter. His letter has just been received.

[Bogdanov] Here it should be remembered: The Soviet Union retains at its disposal ground-based, sea-based and air-based strategic nuclear weapons. They are of a deterrent nature and are only a means of retribution in

the event of nuclear aggression against our country. I cannot fail to remind listeners in this connection that we have renounced the first use of nuclear weapons. This is the cornerstone of Soviet policy. I would also like to recall something else, the very important premise of structuring our armed forces on the basis of reasonable sufficiency. Copying the actions of our enemies and symmetrical development of our defense capabilities are not the most efficient way. We ensure our own security in such a way that the most aggressive circles of the West always retain a sense of the inevitability of retribution. I can say with confidence that the defense capability of the Soviet Union does ensure the country's reliable security.

[Patsyuk] To sum up the results of our conversation, it is very important now—and our country's efforts are indeed directed toward this—to pursue a policy of preventing the possibility of war and, best of all, of ruling it out.

[Bogdanov] The Soviet policy of reducing world tension, improving international relations, bringing about a positive change for the better in relations between states, and stressing the common human values is therefore a mighty weapon against war and an active means of involving all states in the process of normalizing the situation. Wars do not occur of their own accord, to a considerable extent they are engendered by mutual mistrust and emnity. Normal international relations certainly presuppose the absence of these generators of mutual destruction. This is why a policy of really changing the international situation for the better can be viewed as a serious obstacle on the road of solving differences between countries and peoples by military means. [passage omitted]

A question from Comrade Akimova from the village of Losikha in Altay Kray also relates to the postwar period. She asks if Germany paid financial compensation for the towns and villages destroyed by the fascists. After all, she writes, this cannot be forgotten. The fascists left behind them charred remains and piles of smashed brickwork.

[Patsyuk] Yes, the horrors of the war will remain in people's memories forever. Those who unleashed it were punished severely during the postwar trials of the Nazi war criminals. As for Germany's material responsibility for having unleashed their war of aggression, this was provided for in the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. [passage omitted]

In 1953 our government, by agreement with the Polish Government, decided to cease levying reparations from the GDR. Thirty-three industrial enterprises located on the territory of the republic were handed over to its ownership and the amount of the GDR's annual expenditure on the maintenance of Soviet troops on its territory was reduced. This was all regulated by the Moscow protocol of 1953. It is clear evidence of the fact that the USSR was striving to give the GDR economic assistance and create the most favorable conditions possible for its development. Of course, the role of the first socialist state of German soil in the struggle for peace and security in Europe was taken into account.

The years that have passed have demonstrated the correct nature and far-sightedness of our policy regarding the GDR. It is an integral part of the socialist community, a stronghold of peace in the center of Europe. Its peaceloving voice rings out loudly on the international scene. And whether they like it or not, people in the West are obliged to listen to it. The official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, the leader of the GDR, and his talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, are fresh confirmation of this.

A joint communique issued in Bonn notes that both leaders are unanimous in the view that the GDR and FRG must make special efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe; never more must war emanate from German soil. The sides stressed that relations between both states must remain a stabilising factor for the development of constructive relations between East and West. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Shultz End Talks

Agree on Full-Scale Talks

LD182232 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Excerpts] Shevardnadze and Shultz have completed their talks. [passage omitted]

At the talks in Washington, the two sides have agreed to start full-scale, bilateral talks on limiting and ultimately completely terminating nuclear tests, having adopted in this connection a joint Soviet-U.S. statement. It points out, specifically, that the Soviet and U.S. sides have agreed to begin, before 1 December, 1987, full-scale and stage-by-stage talks that will be conducted in a single forum.

During these talks the two sides are, as a first step, agreeing on effective verification measures that will make it possible to ratify the Soviet-U.S. treaty of 1974 on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests, the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, and to embark upon agreeing further intermediate limitations on nuclear tests toward the final goal of the complete cessation of nuclear tests as part of an effective disarmament process. The primary goal of this process would be a reduction in the number of nuclear weapons and, in the final analysis, eliminating them.

Shevardnadze Sees Reagan

LD181328 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] The 3-day talks between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz have ended in Washington.

The sides agreed to start full-scale stage-by-stage talks on limitation and finally full cessation of nuclear testing. They intend to work out and conduct joint experiments on verification at test sites of the USSR and United States.

Great attention was paid at the meeting to achieving an accord on eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical nuclear missiles, banning chemical weapons, and reducing conventional weapons.

An agreement was signed on the setting up of centers for reducing nuclear danger.

After the work of the delegations was concluded, Comrade Shevardnadze had a meeting with President Reagan.

Joint Statement Issued

LD181425 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 18 TASS—A joint Soviet-American statement on the results of the talks between member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State of the United States George Shultz was published here today. The joint statement says:

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz have completed three days of thorough and useful discussions on all aspects of the relationship between the two countries.

The foreign minister and the secretary reviewed the full spectrum of questions regarding nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons arms control. In particular, the two ministers, together with their advisers, conducted intensive negotiations on the question of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. This resulted in agreement in principle to conclude a treaty. The Geneva delegations of both sides have been instructed to work intensively to resolve remaining technical issues and promptly to complete a draft treaty text. The foreign minister and the secretary agreed that a similarly intensive effort should be made to achieve a treaty on 50 per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms within the framework of the Geneva nuclear and space talks.

Having discussed questions related to nuclear testing, the two sides agreed to begin, before December 1, 1987, full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations which will be conducted in a single forum. They approved a separate statement on this subject.

The foreign minister and the secretary also discussed regional issues.

The two sides discussed a broad range of issues concerning bilateral relations. A work programme was agreed, to be implemented in 1987-1988, designed to intensify joint efforts in various areas of Soviet-U.S. cooperation.

A constructive discussion of human rights issues and humanitarian questions took place.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Shultz agreed that an additional meeting is needed to review the results of the work in all of these areas, including the efforts of the delegations in the Geneva nuclear and space talks. They agreed that this meeting would take place in Moscow in the second half of October.

In order to sign a treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and to cover the full range of issues in the relationship between the two countries, a summit between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will take place. The summit will be held in the fall of 1987, with exact dates to be determined during the talks between the foreign minister and the secretary of state in Moscow in October.

Shevardnadze Meets Press

PM211213 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

["E.A. Shevardnadze's Press Conference"—IZVESTIYA general heading]

[Text] Washington, 18 Sep—At the end of the Soviet-U.S. summit talks held in the U.S. capital over the past 3 days, E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, summed up the results of the talks at a press conference held in the Soviet Embassy.

At this time, E.A. Shevardnadze said, we should have already been in New York, but delayed our departure to hold this press conference, which had been planned for yesterday.

I think you understand—you know why it was not held yesterday.

But still, I have to say that, the road to an agreement about which everyone spoke as about an accomplished fact turned out to be more complicated than we had thought.

Yesterday, we and our American partners met for a whole day. And only towards the evening we were able to resolve some difficult questions.

For the first time in the history of the existence of nuclear weapons, of the existence of what I would call the nuclear face-off between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. It has been possible to agree on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons.

This is a beginning. Certainly a beginning we hope has to be and will be followed by a continuation.

Let me repeat, those were difficult negotiations, but not for a moment did we have any doubts about their success—their mutual success, for the Soviet Union and for the United States. A common success for all mankind, for human civilization.

Our confidence has been based, continues to be based, on the understanding of the logic of our time. We have a good system of political and ethical reference points. And at the most critical moment, we received powerful moral support.

I am referring to the article of Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of our party's Central Committee, published on September the 17th in *Pravda* and titled, "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World." This is the most extensive, structured, and comprehensive presentation of the view of the Soviet leadership concerning the problems of peace, security and disarmament that builds on the ideas contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, January the 15th, 1986, and in his political report to the 27th CPSU Congress.

It is clear from this document that the principles we uphold are not for us something rigid and immovable—that they constantly develop, they constantly become more specific and detailed in line with the current situation.

In this sense, the article, which is a new departure, contains new revolutionary thinking, new revolutionary spirit. This is of great interest in and of itself. But, the main significance of this article lies as we see it in the fact that it charts what we think is the correct route leading to a secure, nonnuclear world.

The analysis of the trends of recent times contained in the article is supported by a prognosis, a forecast, of the development of the situation in the Soviet-American and international relations. In other words, this forecast, which is being justified before our very eyes, convincingly vindicates the general secretary's belief that the concept of a comprehensive system of international peace and security can become a reality.

Quite recently, there were few people who believed in a possibility of nuclear disarmament, and today we are making the first major step toward a nuclear-free world. Similarly, all the other proposals contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's article, which I would describe as the doctrine of a secure world all, can, and we are convinced of that, become practical reality.

I would like also to congratulate those of you who, over these days, have demonstrated heightened professional insight by discerning in our negotiations with the President and the secretary of state optimism and hope.

I know that you need details and facts. Almost all that could be said is contained in our joint statement for the press and other agreed documents. The rest is emotions that, for me, are very important. Over these days, we have experienced a complex spectrum of emotions, from anxiety to a strong emotional uplift. This is what we are feeling now because, by joint efforts, we have been able to achieve what we have been moving toward for many years. The day before yesterday, I said to Secretary Shultz that it is time to reap the fruits of this work, and he agreed.

Now, this agreement is much broader than just simple mutual understanding. I would like to recall, for your benefit, some moments that preceded this important landmark event. I would like to recall Geneva and Reykjavik, the summits in those two cities, because I think that the agreements we have reached now reflect the spirit of those two summits.

I would like also to remind you that to ensure the agreement is reached, the Soviet Union agreed to set aside the question of British and French nuclear arsenals, which is an important question.

We unpackaged the well-known Reykjavik package, although we would prefer to have a package, a complex solution to the problems relating to nuclear and space

weapons. We accepted a global double zero on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Also, to satisfy the request and the demand of Asian countries, we agreed to eliminate also the whole class of such missiles in Asia. Finally, we are eliminating a greater number of warheads in our nuclear arsenals than the NATO side, although I do not want to say by this that we are neglecting the security interests of ourselves and our allies. No, we do have guarantees of sufficient and reliable defense.

Having agreed in a firm and definitive manner to sign an agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons, we have also identified the sequence and the time frame for the further steps that will bring us to the actual implementation of the agreement.

In about one month's time the secretary of state and myself will have another meeting to receive from our delegations the finalized texts of the documents to be signed and to agree on the conditions for the meeting between the top leaders of our two countries. The meeting with the secretary of state will take place in Moscow, and of course, the secretary of state will have a talk with the general secretary.

Let me emphasize that the progress we have been able to achieve would hardly have been possible without the assistance of our allies and I mean here both the European socialist countries, particularly the GDR and the CSSR, where operational-tactical missiles are located and also the U.S. allies in Europe, particularly the FRG Government.

As you know, Mikhail Gorbachev positively appreciated that well-known statement by Federal Chancellor Kohl as part of the mutually acceptable solution to the question of the Pershing-1A missiles in the FRG. There is now an agreed provision that the nuclear warheads belonging to the United States for those missiles will be subject to the same procedure as all the other nuclear warheads for medium-range and operational-tactical missiles.

So we've been able to find a solution that does not affect the alliance interests of the United States and is also consistent with our interests.

It has been confirmed that within the time frame established by the future treaty all nuclear warheads of the missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,000 kilometers will be eliminated.

Agreement has been reached on the procedures for the implementation of the agreements about the scope and methods of verification and monitoring [kontrol i proverka], and on other fundamental provisions. Both we and our American partners have complete confidence that the treaty will be signed before the end of this year.

Unfortunately, and this I have to report to you with some regret, we have not yet been able to bring our positions substantially closer together in the question of the 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons in the context of strict compliance with and strengthening of the regime of the ABM Treaty. This question, which we believe is the root question of Soviet-U.S. relations, has to be moved forward in the period remaining before the meeting of the ministers, so that they could prepare productive agreements for approval at the summit. On this, our delegations in Geneva have now received straightforward and very categorical firm instructions from the two foreign ministers.

We also forwarded a number of specific proposals concerning the preservation and strengthening of the ABM Treaty regime. This could become subject of discussion at a meeting between our defense ministers. Particularly, I have in mind the questions referring to the different positions concerning the so-called violations of the ABM Treaty.

I was authorized by the Soviet leadership to transmit to Secretary Weinberger the invitation to such a meeting which could be held within the framework of the next session of the standing consultative commission.

I have to tell you in secret that Secretary Weinberger so far has not responded to that proposal. We await the response.

Yesterday, we issued a statement concerning starting before December 1 comprehensive negotiations on the problems relating to the cessation of nuclear weapons testing. This is also a very important step in a very important area. Although, you remember what our position is on this question; we would have preferred a more radical solution and that is the immediate ending of all nuclear tests, all nuclear explosions. This would be a historic step.

And about another achievement: A few days ago we signed an agreement about establishing the centers for reducing the risk of nuclear war.

Exchanges relating to the problems concerning the prohibition of chemical weapons—in this area, substantial progress has been achieved—concerning the reduction of armed forces in Europe, and concerning bilateral aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations have been useful and encouraging. I would like particularly to emphasize that, for the first time, both sides expressed satisfaction about the constructive nature of the discussion of humanitarian questions that took place.

To summarize, I would say that we have been able to reach as much agreement and as broad agreement as is possible today. It is amazing that the degree of the "possible" is so significant, so substantial. This causes us to feel a great deal of optimism, though, of course, many difficulties, many contradictions do remain in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Yesterday, I thanked Secretary Shultz and Mr. Carlucci, the President's natinal security advisor, who was actively involved in our negotiations, particularly at their concluding stage. I thanked also their assistants and also

Soviet and U.S. experts for good cooperation, and I would like you to mention this in your reports, if possible.

I attach great importance to the fact that during the first day and after the conclusion of our negotiations, we were received by President Reagan, and had important meetings with the President, had a good exchange of views which was an important factor for the success of our negotiations. Over all, the meetings, the dialogue between us have been held in a constructive, businesslike atmosphere, I would say an atmosphere of goodwill, and this is the atmosphere that is characteristic of our relations with the secretary of state.

We have a great deal of very substantial and difficult work ahead of us, but this is a different kind of work, because when one has agreed on drawings, one knows when construction will be completed.

Discusses 'Obstacles'

PM211215 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

["E.A. Shevardnadze's Press Conference"—IZVESTIYA general heading]

[Excerpts]Eduard Shevardnadze answered numerous questions from correspondents.

Many journalists paid particular attention to the prospects for a new Soviet-U.S. summit. In this regard, the following question was asked: According to what you have said, it looks as if the time for a summit depends on progress achieved within the interval between now and later in the year. With regard to the strict observation of the ABM Treaty. Yet there are allegations to the effect that the Soviet Union itself violates the treaty.

Shevardnadze: The accusations that the Soviet Union is violating the ABM Treaty are unfounded. The main point of the accusations is the Krasnoyarsk radar station. If we had built it in violation of the ABM Treaty then why would we invite U.S. representatives—of Congress and other high-ranking representatives of the U.S. public and political circles—to visit and look around this station? They visited the station, and I hope that the U.S. side will make an appropriate response to this step of ours; that is, our representatives should also be given an opportunity to visit the U.S. radar station located in Thule in Greenland. It is for this reason that we are proposing that the defense ministers of the two great powers meet at the highest professional level to talk seriously and thoroughly about the so-called violations and to remove all these irritants in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: In the opinion of the Soviet Union, what are the main obstacles toward the conclusion of an agreement on strategic armaments? Do you consider that SDI remains the main obstacle?

Shevardnadze: That is a bad program. That is the "Star Wars" program. That's what they call it and that is what it really is. But it is evidently impossible to change the mind of the U.S. Administration. We therefore insist upon the minimum. As a minimum it is necessary to ensure that strict observance of the conditions of the ABM Treaty is preserved if only for 10 years. And with due regard for this provision, a sharp 50 percent reduction in offensive strategic armaments is fully possible. I consider that this is possible in the not too distant future. In this respect we can also do something at the meeting of ministers in Moscow.

Question: In your statement you noted the possibility of reducing arms in Europe. Do you think that an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles could pave the way for discussion on several proposals related to establishing a weapon-free zone in central Europe?

Shevardnadze: I think this is a most important stage from the viewpoint of the interests of reaching agreement on a whole complex of arms reductions in Europe and a very important incentive and a favorable and good background for the implementation of Comrade Jaruzelski's plan. Vast arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons still remain in Europe. Therefore, we still have a lot of work to reach a sharp reduction in these weapons and to ensure security at the lowest level of weapons and armed forces. This is the most reliable security.

Question: Is the Soviet Government hoping that an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles will pave the way for a new military doctrine in Europe known as "minimum sufficient defense," when both sides will withdraw a significant part of their troops and even create a corridor where there will be no confrontation in central Europe?

Shevardnadze: We are hoping that this agreement will be a very important incentive. It will, practically, morally, psychologically, and in all respects be an incentive for such a solution to this issue. You know, I'll say it straight out: This is an historic event.

Question: Was there a discussion of regional problems—for instance the situation around Afghanistan and the situation in the sphere of human rights?

Shevardnadze: We discussed all aspects of these problems and many regional problems, including the situation around Afghanistan. We spoke about the fact that the Soviet leadership has adopted a political decision on the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. We have an interest in this. And the sooner, the better. There is only one condition: Interference into the internal affairs from the territory of Pakistan must end. I feel that the U.S. side understands the extent to which this is a serious argument. With regard to the issue of human rights, Mr Shultz rightly noted that this is a street with two-way traffic. We have questions for the Americans and they have questions for us. And there's nothing terrible about that. You know, I could deliver a lecture right now on the issue of what has been done and is being done by the Soviet Union. We have a process underway of a very

deep democratization and restructuring of all our society. In order to discuss humanitarian problems seriously, thoroughly, and ona scientific basis, we propose to hold a special forum in Moscow on humanitarian issues.

Question: Has the United States decided to take part in such a conference?

Shevardnadze: We have not received a final reply.

Sees Talks' Results

LD181933 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 18 TASS—Replying to questions put by correspondents, the Soviet foreign minister expressed the conviction that the results of the Washington talks would undoubtedly become a powerful impetus to invigorating the entire process of further negotiations.

He said that to attain the objective announced at the Soviet-American summit talks in Reykjavik, such as the 50 per cent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, it was above all necessary to comply with the ABM Treaty in its strictest interpretation.

Shevardnadze described the Star Wars programme as "bad" and "dangerous," adding that space should remain peaceful.

Shevardnadze stressed the great importance of (?reaching) an early agreement on the total cessation of nuclear testing.

This would be facilitated by the Soviet-American agreement reached at the talks in (?Washington), he said.

To help resolve that problem, Shevardnadze pointed out, he handed over on instructions of the Soviet leadership an invitation to U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger to hold a meeting with Soviet Defence Minister Yazov.

The American minister had so far made no reply to the invitation.

Reports on GDR Shooting

PM211219 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

["E.A. Shevardnadze's Press Conference"—IZVESTIYA general heading]

[Text] Washington, 19 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze was asked a number of questions in connection with the incident in the GDR territory on September 17, when an American serviceman was slightly wounded. Answering these questions, the USSR foreign minister said that according to the dispatch he received from Moscow, on that day members of the U.S. military liaison mission were staying in a car in close proximity to the zone closed to the foreign military liaison missions, where they photographed Soviet Air Force planes on flights and also engaged themselves in electronic reconnaissance near a Soviet military range.

When Soviet servicemen were approaching them, the members of the mission made an attempt to escape, which was stopped by warning shots from small arms, in whose course an American serviceman was wounded. After identification, the Americans were allowed to return to Potsdam. The actions by both U.S. and Soviet servicemen in that case constitute a breach of the agreement on military liaison missions accredited to the Soviet and U.S. commanders of the occupation zones of Germany. In that connection the Soviet side deems it necessary to draw the attention of the U.S. side to the need for a precise, strict observance of the above-said agreement. And another important statement: We bring our apologies for what happened and declare that our authorities will take the necessary measures to exclude such incidents in the future. This is a deplorable fact, and both us and the Americans should draw conclusions from it. Other questions from journalists were also answered. New York, 19 Sep—E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who is heading the USSR delegation to the UN General Assembly session, arrived in New York 18 September to attend the 42d UN General Assembly session.

Departs for New York

LD181820 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and persons accompanying him left Washington for New York today.

The Soviet minister will take part in the work of the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Arrives in New York

LD181843 Moscow TASS in English 1826 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] New York September 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, arrived in New York today to attend the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Shevardnadze is heading the USSR delegation to the session.

Reagan, Shultz Hold News Conference

Reagan Praises Results

LD181951 Moscow TASS in English 1929 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 18 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz today held a press conference on the results of the talks

with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR.

"Secretary Shultz has reported to me on the results of his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze," President Reagan said.

"As you know, the talks covered arms reduction, regional conflicts, human rights,and bilateral issues. Although we have serious differences in many areas, the tone of the talks was frank, constructive, and notable progress was made.

"Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze have issued a joint statement, which I believe you all have now, and I'm pleased to note that agreement in principle was reached to conclude an INF treaty," the President went on.

"They'll meet again in Moscow next month to continue their efforts and to work out the details of a summit between me and General Secretary Gorbachev later this fall.

"I want to congratulate Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and their delegations for their outstanding efforts over the past three days."

"And the secretary (of state) is going to take your questions," President Reagan said, opening the press conference.

The newsmen present asked a number of questions related to the implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" program and called the President's attention to the fact that the Senate had voted for restrictions on SDI testing.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said: "We will never agree to restrictions that make it harder to pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative."

At the same time he said that the strategic arms and space were areas that were getting, would and should get "intensified effort".

"Now there is a great deal of work to do, beyond any INF agreement. But it's the beginning," George Shultz said. "And it's an important beginning."

The secretary of state emphasized that "in this case, a class of nuclear weapons is eliminated. There are many more nuclear weapons left than will be eliminated by this agreement, but you've got to start."

Shultz on SDI Commitment

PM211333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "R. Reagan and G. Shultz Statements"]

[Text] Washington, 19 Sep—President Reagan has made a special statement in which he gives the U.S. side's assessment of the talks with the Soviet delegation headed by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, which have ended here.

Although we have encountered many difficulties in many areas, Reagan said, the talks were held in a frank [otkrovennyy] and constructive spirit, and noticeable progress was made. I am pleased to note that agreement in principle was reached to conclude a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical nuclear weapons. I congratulate the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, and also the delegation members and experts, on the hard work they have done and the results they achieved, the President said.

Then U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz gave a news conference. Answering journalists' questions, Shultz emphasized that the biggest breakthroughs with a view to concluding a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles had been achieved during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik, which he described as an exceptionally productive meeting. Since that meeting, the secretary of state went on, we have been concerned primarily with the problem of elaborating a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. We have all worked very hard on solving a great number of very complex problems, of which those are of fundamental importance have been resolved. He expressed the hope that the remaining problems will also be settled.

Dwelling on the problem of strategic nuclear arms reduction, Shultz empphasized that in this area too, enormous progress had been achieved at the meeting in Reykjavik. However, a large number of very important problems remain to be resolved and we talked about them during our meetings with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, he said. I hope, Shultz went on, that when I visit Moscow next month we will apply ourselves again to these problems and the Soviet and American delegations at the Geneva talks will do same.

At the same time, the secretary of state reaffirmed the commitment of the present U.S. Administration to SDI, known as "Star Wars," whose implementation would seriously damage the chances of achieving any radical limitations, let alone strategic offensive arms reductions. He confirmed the U.S. intention to go ahead with tests within the framework of SDI, although this, as is well known, would be a direct and flagrant violation of the ABM Treaty. It is noteworthy that on the same day as Shultz's press conference, the Pentagon issued a statement announcing the decision to carry out a "demonstration"—in other words, tests—of certain SDI elements.

At the same time, Shultz stressed that both sides had agreed in principle on the "concept of a period of nonwithdrawal" from the ABM Treaty although no agreement had been reached on the duration of this period.

Reagan Brands Accord 'Major Event'

LD191958 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Washington, 19 Sep (TASS)—U.S. President Ronald Reagan, in his regular Saturday radio address, described as a major event the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States on medium- and shorter-range missiles, which was achieved during USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Washington.

"In 3 full days of talks important progress was made," the President said. "Agreement has been reached in principle between the United States of America and the Soviet Union to conclude a truly historic treaty, under which a whole class of U.S. and Soviet missiles will be destroyed," Reagan stressed. "I hope to sign it in the autumn of this year during a summit meeting," the President continued. He noted too that the accord that has been reached to begin full-scale, bilateral talks on limiting, and ultimately on completely ending, nuclear tests "moves forward to another historic goal—the reduction by a half of our strategic nuclear arms arsenals."

At the same time the President stated that he will not "sacrifice" the SDI program and recalled the decision adopted on Friday to hold a "demonstration," in other words a test, of several of the elements of the "Star Wars" program.

Shultz: Soviets 'Ready To Work'

LD201958 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] Washington September 20 TASS—As a result of reaching the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles "Europe will be more safe, definitely", said U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. He was speaking in the ABC television programme "This Week With David Brinkley".

Those who are of a different opinion on that score, as he put it, "don't do arithmetic."

As the head of the U.S. foreign policy department noted the Soviet-American agreement is characterised by the fact that for the first time an agreement abolishes nuclear weapons, a whole category of weapons systems is abolished. At the same time he was trying to give the credit to NATO's "firm stand" for reaching agreement.

Asked what were the chances that an agreement on strategic weapons would be concluded under the current administration, George Shultz had this to say: "I know that the right way to go about it is to work hard on it. And that's what we're doing. And I have sense that the Soviets are ready to work hard on it too. So, maybe we'll get there. We sure are going to try."

Comments Assess Shevardnadze Talks

Kondrashev Comments

PM181625 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Political Observer Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Good News from Washington"]

[Text] Let me begin with an impromptu press conference that took place in the White House last Tuesday, when the U.S. President and the Soviet foreign minister had met but before they had got down to work.

Question: Mr President, was there any progress at the talks today?

Reagan: This process has only started.

Question: What do you think? Will this meeting result in a new summit meeting?

Reagan (jokingly turning to Shevardnadze): Don't answer this question.

Question: Did the foreign minister give you a message from M.S. Gorbachev?

Reagan: No, but as far as I know he has brought one along.

Question: Mr Minister, could you tell us what is in that letter?

Shevardnadze: If I told you, what will be left for me to tell the President?

Question [as published]: Exactly the same.

Shevardnadze: This letter contains good news.

Question: Does it contain a date for the summit meeting?

Shevardnadze: There is no date. But a summit meeting is necessary.

That was the prologue to E.A. Shevardnadze's 3 days of talks in Washington, which ended on Thursday evening. The Soviet minister's last meeting with U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz lasted 9 and 1/2 instead of 2 and 1/2 hours and, it is reported, they traveled together to the White House for a brief unscheduled meeting with the President.

The world was yearning for good news. Journalists are pressing the politicians, as can be seen from the brief encounter described above. Statesmen are more patient. When expressing optimism, they play it safe by adding the word "cautious." Nonetheless, both E.A. Shevardnadze on landing in Washington and R. Reagan on the eve of the meeting with him, without previous agreement, used one and the same expression—within grasp.

A Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in Europe is within grasp.

The main question following the 3 days in Washington is: Has this assessment changed or not? It has not changed. The treaty is close at hand [dogovor priblizilsya]. As I was told by an informed source, the talks "produced a breakthrough." The fundamental questions on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in Europe have been agreed. Only technical details remain to be worked out. Thus the path is virtually paved for the treaty to be signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan before the end of the year, at the third Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in 2 years.

This will be the hitherto most substantial fruit of the dialogue between the two countries, which has recently been expanded, deepened, and, if you like, accelerated. At the Soviet Union's initiative, the last 2 years have been years of restructuring also in relations between the two nuclear powers. This restructuring progresses unevenly and far from smoothly, as we have all witnessed. President Reagan, of course, remains committed to his views and makes no secret of his anti-Sovietism. If any proof of this were needed, it is provided in abundance by his latest statements, just like his previous ones, and our newspaper has informed its readers of this. But rhetoric by no means always coincides with policy, even though it may obstruct it.

According to one U.S. newspaper's definition, "sober pragmatism" can be detected in the Reagan administration's policy. Making its way through the infighting among the President's conservative supporters, this pragmatism takes into account the changing attitude of the U.S. public toward the Soviet Union in the period of glasnost and restructuring. Another consideration is the approaching end of the Reagan Presidency. The President is worried about the halo of peace-maker and realizes that it is not to be acquired without an improvement and strengthening of relations with the Soviet Union—after all, objectively speaking, this is the central element of U.S. foreign policy.

What could be described as qualitative changes have recently occurred gradually and almost semispontaneously in Soviet-U.S. relations at the public level, the level of interest in one another, the level of various forms of contacts and exchanges. Analyzing the state of affairs on the eve of the Soviet minister's visit, U.S. mass news media drew attention to this. Here is a report by CBS: "Now this is a real spontaneous mass movement—Americans in their thousands are arriving in the Soviet Union and not just as tourists. It seems that the current scale of Soviet-U.S. contacts is without precedent." *The New York Times* quotes a statement by an official who wished to remain anonymous: "We have returned to the level reached during the zenith of the seventies, and have started moving in spheres that remained untouched in the seventies." These spheres are taken to mean, in particular, the sharply raised level of openness in questions of nuclear testing and arms verification, with the Soviet side displaying greater desire for cooperation and this, to a certain extent, pushes the U.S. side toward more constructive decisions.

And one final quotation: Henry Trukhit [surname as published] and Dzheff Trembl [name as published] wrote in the weekly *U.S. News and World Report:* "Any diplomatic game has its crucial moment. We have approached a stage that could determine U.S.-Soviet relations through the end of Ronald Reagan's Presidency, sum up the results of his achievements in the foreign policy sphere, and produce the first result of Mikhail Gorbachev's policy.... If the INF treaty is concluded, much else will also become probable.... Reagan, whose foreign policy achievements offer no particular cause for joy, is striving for an unambiguous success."

Not only a diplomat but also a journalist could benefit from being cautious in forecasts, especially under the fresh influence of the favorable advance that has only just been achieved. The experience of Soviet-U.S. relations teaches us many lessons and, among other things, not to fall into a state of euphoria under any circumstances. Our policy is consistent, but the world of American politics is complex and rather unpredictable.

There are at least three yardsticks to measure any event in international life: the past, the present, and the future. The degree of intensity of the Soviet-U.S. political dialogue has risen greatly in comparison with the early eighties, the first years of the Reagan administration, when the dialogue was essentially broken off. One needs only recall that, for example, anti-Soviet hysteria in Washington in the fall of 1983 produced a break in the years-long tradition of the Soviet foreign minister attending the UN General Assembly session and invariably meeting the U.S. President.

By the measuring stick of today, we are, as already mentioned above, really close to an agreement on the first real reduction of nuclear potentials in history. Even though we are talking, according to estimates, about only 3 percent of this potential, the initiative is important, the first practical steps are important, the direction is important.

The immediate goals and today's achievements must not overshadow the future. The yardstick of the future takes the form of progress toward a nuclear-free world.

Solton on Agreement

LD181307 Moscow World Service in English 1010 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] The official results of the talks in Washington by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz are being summed up. Here's what Radio Moscow news analyst Yuriy Solton writes in this connection:

The talks were to be completed on Thursday afternoon. The schedule, however, was not adhered to. The ministers cancelled the planned news conferences and held

discussions for 9 and 1/2 hours all told. There were also short meetings with President Reagan. All this indicates that the talks were difficult and serious, and of course there's nothing unexpected about this. The question was being decided on an agreement which could lead to the elimination of more than 2,000 nuclear ammunition devices, powerful missiles, and warheads targeted both at the East and West.

I'd like to stress that the agreement being prepared is not aimed at limiting nuclear arms—there have been such accords earlier—but physically destroying part of the nuclear arsenals. It's planned to do this for the first time since nuclear weapons appeared in the world. And naturally, it's necessary to carefully weigh every detail to prevent any violation of the principle of equality and equal security.

The talks in Washington were held in an atmosphere of optimism. On Tuesday the Soviet Union and the United States signed an agreement on establishing nuclear-risk reduction centers to lessen the chance of accidental war. And on Thursday it was announced that there's a Soviet-American agreement to start full-scale stage-by-stage talks on limiting and eventually ending all nuclear tests. And today, observers in Washington quoting reliable sources say the ministers have been able to reach preliminary agreement on the problem of missiles as well.

One would like to believe that we are witnessing a prelude to major steps in the field of nuclear disarmament. The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, pointed out in his latest article that an agreement on missiles could help make progress at the discussions on major, 50-percent cuts of strategic offensive arms, provided there is strict compliance with the ABM Treaty. If there is a desire on both sides, an agreement on that score could become a reality already in the first half of next year.

PRAVDA Sees Washington 'Optimism'

PM211330 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gan report under general heading "Doctrine of Peace—on a Practical Footing": "Upsurge of Optimism"]

[Text] Washington—The Soviet-U.S. agreement to sign an agreement on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles has generated in U.S. political and public circles an immediate reaction such as the country has not experienced for a long time. The vast majority of the responses are highly positive, although, of course, nobody is talking about any "miraculous" disappearance of contradictions between the two countries. They are talking about something different—the reality of the change in Soviet-U.S. relations and the hopes for a halt to the dangerous arms race. It is as if a dam had broken that had, for decades, stood in the path of natural human feelings, emotions, and worries.

"Friday, 18 September 1987 could be an important date in future history books, the day on which the unrestrained nuclear arms race began to be reversed"—that observation by the announcer on NBC television news was highly characteristic of the opinions now being voiced here. It echoes the opinion of ABC television, whose commentator stated: "Unless there is some unexpected hiccup, the USSR and the United States will sign the first substantial agreement in the nuclear age on the physical reduction of their nuclear arsenals, although this will not make the world immediately secure." At the same time it is widely acknowledged that the accord that has been reached could mark a departure from stereotypes and pave the way for the new political thinking.

According to CBS television, for many members of Congress the "initial reaction" to the results of the talks was "very positive." The majority of leading senators welcomed the accord as a "good step." "I am optimistic that progress has been achieved," R. Byrd, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate, stated. R. Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, described it as a step in the right direction. In the opinion of S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Soviet-U.S. talks have shown "signs of significant progress." C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke of the "desired progress," announcing that he plans to hold hearings as soon as the agreement is submitted for examination by the Senate.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage From DRA Rebel Arms Convoy

PM210954 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 6

["Reportage on the Interception of a Dushman Transport Carrying Weapons by IZVESTIYA Special Correspondent Vladimir Shcherban": "Landing on a Caravan Trail"; passages in italics as published]

[Excerpts] Kabul, Qandahar—We had been lying on hot stones for 10 hours, and in that time we had probably cursed the "dukhi" [literally "evil spirits"—slang word for "dushmans"] and the heat enough to last for the rest of our lives. Here in the mountains, it was like the furnaces of hell: The stones burned through your clothes, the dust clogged your mouth. We were dropped 2 days ago by helicopter in the scorched, bare mountains with the mission of penetrating the dushmans' rear and destroying a weapon caravan. It was like putting your head in a crocodile's maw and trying to pull it out again. A lethal risk. You could run up against an ambush, a minefield. Or give yourself away. [passage omitted]

It is the hottest place in the whole of Afghanistan at present. Events are taking place in the south on which the country's future largely depends. The counterrevolution is very strong here. This is particularly noticeable in Qandahar.

At the headquarters of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, political worker officer A. Zakharov told me:

"If you judge by newspaper reports, especially television reportage, on what is happening in Afghanistan, especially in the south, you get the impression that columns of people returning home fill all the roads leading into Afghanistan, that the national reconciliation policy has already led to a situation where yesterday's enemies kiss each other in the city squares. But you go to Qandahar and you'll see how it really is.

"The city is one big ruin. There is shooting all the time. Nobody would give a brass farthing for your life if you took it into your head, say, to walk down the street unarmed."

We drove into Qandahar in an armored vehicle bristling with submachineguns. Everyone chose a sector to watch, and pointed his gun in that direction. Sometimes a drug-crazed dushman would shoot at point-blank range from a recoilless gun at a tank or armored vehicle. And promptly hide in the ruins by the roadside. It was no accident that I saw molten asphalt at the edge of the road.

"They set fire to a tank there," I was told.

"And here, where the asphalt is broken up, an armored vehicle blew up on a land mine."

"They fired on us from those reeds a week ago."

I listened, and only clung more tightly to the handle I was gripping.

...The national reconcilation process proclaimed by the PDPA leadership and the Afghan Government has been under way for 9 months. Nobody thought it would be easy, or that the movement toward peace would be direct and smooth. It was also naive to suppose that during that time it would be possible to reconcile people who had been on opposite sides of the barricades for years, or that it would be possible rapidly to eliminate the accumulated difficulties and contradictions.

As is well-known, a unilateral cease-fire was also announced. But the leaders of the "irreconcilables" took advantage of this to stockpile weapons on Afghan territory. Huge arsenals were created. The resources of the "soldiers of Islam" were reinforced with antiaircraft weapons, including American Stinger missiles and British Blowpipes. Nearly all this is delivered in caravans. And the already difficult situation in the provinces of Konarha, Nangarhar, and Qandahar, which border on Pakistan, was exacerbated and became explosive. Although the stratification within the armed counterrevolution has intensified, the situation in these places remains complex.

The delivery of weapons, medical supplies, drugs, and equipment to the counterrevolution takes place via the south, by the roads of war. Destroying the caravans means cutting off the enemy's oxygen, taking the ground out from under his feet, keeping him in fear and tension, forcing him to make mistakes. Today the war has moved into the ancient caravan routes.... [passage omitted]

For a long time the helicopter could not take off. We sat at the airfield waiting for the scorching air to cool down at least to plus 45 degrees. Otherwise the "chopper" would not stand up to the severely rarefied air. Meanwhile they explained to me:

"The first time under fire is the worst: Everything is roaring and whistling around you. If they fire rocket shells and you hear them whistle, that means you'll live—they don't have your name on them—they will fly past your head. Just so that you know, the shrapnel from rocket shells goes in the direction the shells are coming from. They're not mines...."

I looked at the tyros. What is it like for them? It is high time to think about it: Should they go? Especially since nobody is forcing them to go, they are eager for the mission. Just try not taking them. It will end in tears. Of course, they are not going into this risky affair because of orders and medals, although every caravan destroyed is worth that. Is it duty, then? The oath? The desire to excel? To feel you are a real soldier?

...We were flying at an altitude of 15-20 meters. We were carrying out maneuvers to avoid missiles. The air was poor. The noise from the whirring blades was as if a thousand washerwomen were rinsing the linen all at the same time. We "sounded out" the dried-up stream beds and all the suspicious dunes one after another. There were several false landings. But the real one was when the mountains appeared, like ghosts. We jumped out into the soft sand and, under cover of the dust raised by the helicopter, ran away. I glanced round in farewell. The pilot waved. From the movement of his lips, I guessed he was saying:

"Have a nice day!"

"Go to hell!"...

Lieutenant Vesnin was in charge of the group. At first he seemed dour and unsociable. He comes from Ryazan. He is married, and his son was born 6 months ago. The lieutenant is small but broad-shouldered. He has "taken" caravans of weapons, drugs, and smuggled goods. He has been recommended for a decoration. He chooses the people for the group himself, and therefore he has confidence in all of them. He is as cautious as an old fox. One of the biggest caravans ever is to his credit. The "dukhi" swore on their blood to take revenge. Only it was not him they tracked down, but Senior Lieutenant Gugin's group.

The senior lieutenant will remember that terrible day forever. His scorched hands hurt, his burnt face is on fire. When we met him, it was not hot outside. But he could only talk in the shade. The thin skin, or rather film, on his face and hands begins to crack.

"On one of our flights, they were lying in wait for us. A rocket hit the helicopter," Yuriy recalls. "The machine caught fire and broke up. I started pushing the soldiers

out through the hatch. But just as I was approaching the hatch there was an explosion. I managed to grab my ripcord and lost consciousness. I came to when I hit the ground. There was no skin on my hands at all—it had burned off. Then I saw the 'dukhi'—about 40 meters away. My submachinegun was broken. I took out two grenades. But I knew I could not throw them. Somehow I managed to bend the pin open and put my finger into the ring, so as to blow myself up. I waited for them to approach. But they didn't notice me! Then I heard someone groaning. I ran up—it was one of my men. His leg had been ripped off. And do you know what he asked me?

" 'Comrade senior lieutenant, how will I live?' "

"I pulled out a syringe of painkiller, and pushed the needle into the wounded man's belly with my elbow. Then I pressed the plunger in with my teeth. Soon another two from the group came up, they had seen the red rocket—the assembly signal. But it gave us away, too. Explosives were raining down on us—it was a solid wall of fire....

"In the night we thought we heard a stream murmuring somewhere. We crossed the channel. But there was no water in it. My tongue was too big for my mouth and my lips were parched. My throat was constricted. Then I heard what I'd been waiting for:

" 'They're here!' "

We set up our defenses and began to wait. The tension grew every minute. It felt as if you were connected up to the electricity supply and they'd forgotten to switch it off. Under the impression of the stories told by eyewitnesses and after visits to hospitals, there was something tense inside me that did not let go till the last day: You might step on a mine, you might come into a sniper's sights, you might blow yourself up on a landmine.... Perhaps only the tyros have these thoughts. But everyone goes through it. Everyone knows that sinking feeling in the stomach. Although they all look like brave guys ignorant of the feeling of fear. They have simply smelt powder, been under fire, they have been shot at, and they have taken aim at someone else. And however much you may be told about the feelings you go through in combat, until you yourself breathe the dust raised by exploding rocket shells and see spouts of sand spinning up in front of you from bullets, you won't lift your head unless you have to. You simply can't....

The vehicles drove without lights, raising clouds of dust. The first on the road was a motorcyclist—the patrol. Behind him a Toyota, and further back—a couple of hundred meters—a Simurg. The vehicles swayed like boats on the waves. They usually carry 10-15 guards each. After approximately 2 minutes they entered a section of road that was fully covered by fire. And for those who were on the road, their time on earth was more or less at an end. They were doomed. They had virtually no chance.

I remembered how, in Kondùz, meeting captured dushmans, I had asked this question, among others:

"What would you do with me if you took me prisoner?"

Someone translated.

"We wouldn't kill you. We sell prisoners and buy weapons with the money."

"How much would you sell me for?"

They whispered among themselves.

"For 3 million afghanis," one of them said.

"Is that a lot—3 million?"

"The cost of about 30 submachineguns."

They always know the going rate for human souls. For a pilot's life, a million afghanis. A colonel is worth 800,000, a lieutenant colonel 300,000 less. A captain is 200,000, a lieutenant 100,000.

...A long salvo from the commanding officer—the signal. It had begun. A squall of fire. Fragments from a directional mine broke the Toyota's windshield. The driver and the man sitting next to him evidently died instantly. The Toyota ran into the roadside dunes. Five or six "dukhi" still managed to jump out of the truck. The sand around the fugitives immediately seethed with bullets. They did not manage five paces. All fell under the frenzied fire.

Smoke rose from the hot gunbarrels. You could even hear something whirring, buzzing, in the motors of the lacerated trucks. Only a few minutes.... A terrible time.

Of course, those who travel in the caravans do not expect to be dealt with like that, in 5 or 10 minutes. The guards are very well-trained and can put a bullet smack in the target on the march. They are not afraid of death, they will not be taken prisoner, if there is no chance of getting away they blow themselves up. If you give people like that time to think, you are doomed. And that has happened before. So—fire! Fire! Fire!... Usually the fighting lasts 2 or 3 hours. This time we were lucky.

The vehicles were broken up, carved up by bullets. Around the holes, the paint was peeling off. We found three more in the a truck. Judging from their submachineguns, none of the guards had had time to discharge his magazine. In the body of the Toyota there were boxes of brand new submachineguns, still covered in grease. The Simurg looked as if someone had deliberately drilled hundreds of holes in it. If you cut a sheet of metal out, you would have a readymade sieve. The trouble that its lethal load was bringing had turned on the bandits themselves.

"That's all, call the helicopter," the commander told the radio operator.

In the helicopter, nobody was thinking about danger any more. We'd had enough of that.

"The first thing I'm going to do when we land," Lt Vesnin said, "is to stand under the shower for 2 hours. The second thing is to have a good steam in the bath. And the third thing?" He paused to think. "Another shower and another bath!

"You can't wash off this dust all at once, it's eaten into us...."

Anti-Afghan 'Propaganda Warfare' Escalates
LD041918 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 4 Sep 87

[Text] Kabul September 4 TASS — Enemies of the Afghan people have taken a new step towards escalating propaganda warfare against Afghanistan, *Bakhtar* news agency says commenting on a report in *The Washington Post* about the opening of a new subversive anti-Afghan radio station, "Free Afghanistan", in Munich, West Germany, next Sunday.

There is no doubt, the news agency goes on to say, that "Free Afghanistan" will aim its broadcasts at mounting the false and slanderous campaign waged by international imperialism against Afghanistan. Such subversive centres try to distort the essence of events taking place in Democratic Afghanistan, to conceal the role of the United States and its allies in the undeclared war and to portray as innocent the counterrevolutionaries sowing death and destruction in Afghanistan under orders of their overseas patrons.

Bakhtar notes that at present 50 radio stations are waging propaganda warfare against Afghanistan, broadcasting subversive ideological programmes for 110 every day. In Pakistan alone there are 11 transmitters installed along the border with Afghanistan.

The emergence of a new misinformation centre was prompted not only by the wish to add one more hostile "voice" to the existing propaganda "chorus". It also shows that the USA and some other Western countries are afraid of the fact that national reconciliation in Afghanistan is producing substantial results every day.

The national reconciliation policy is aimed at restoring peace in Afghanistan and eliminating tension in the Near East. That is what frightens the enemies of the Afghan people and opponents of peace and security in Asia.

Iran's Ambassador Meets With Officials
LD120945 Tehran IRNA in English 0930 GMT 12 Sep 87

[Text] Tehran, Sept. 12, IRNA—Soviet officials among them Stravinko and Aleksandr Chverlin [as received] in charge of Middle East and cultural affairs departments of the Soviet Foreign Ministry visited the Iranian pavilion at international book exhibition in Moscow Friday.

They were greeted at the Iranian pavilion by the Iranian ambassador to Moscow Nobari. During their visit the Iranian ambassador reviewed cultural relations between Iran and the Soviet Union.

The exhibiton opened in Moscow on September 8. Thousands of Moscovites have since visited the Iranian pavilion.

Nu'man Makes Stopover Enroute to Prague
EA210942 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 0555 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Excerpts] Brother Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow this morning on his way to Prague. In an interview at Moscow airport, Brother Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man warmly hailed the current level of relations between Democratic Yemen and the Soviet Union. He also expressed the PDRY Government's appreciation for the efforts exerted by Soviet leaders, and by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee personally, in striving to tackle [words indistinct] regional (?issues) and problems, and to [words indistinct] stop the arms race and totally abandon nuclear arms. [passage omitted]

It is worth mentioning that brother Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man is to visit Prague on a private visit to Czechoslovakia.

Indian-Sri Lankan Agreement Welcomed
LD041850 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 4 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS — A TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

Soviet diplomatic circles hold that the second round of Indian-Sri Lankan talks now under way in New Delhi is called upon to give a fresh impetus to the implementation of the bilateral agreement on the settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. A question of much political importance is discussed at the talks: the powers of a future body to administer districts included in the north and the east provinces of the island.

Meanwhile the situation is gradually coming back to normal in the localities that had recently been swept with war. In just over a month that has passed since the signing of the agreement, the process of normalisation has brought tangible fruit. Peace, even if at times fragile, is being established in ancient Sri Lankan land. The overwhelming majority of Sri Lanka's population supports the agreement and is prepared to contribute to its successful implementation.

These positive facts are met with satisfaction by all who are sincerely interested in a peaceful settlement of a conflict which had brought Sri Lanka to the break of a civil war and had become a source of tension in the region. The first successes in the implementation of the agreement clearly indicate its truly historic importance.

The process of normalisation in Sri Lanka would be much more effective if it were not for the obvious and camouflaged opponents to the agreement. Within the country these are the chauvinistic circles of the Singhalese community, the right wing and left extremists. Some external forces also attack the agreement. Thus, the conservative American "Heritage Foundation" organization, maintaining close ties with the current Washington Administration has compiled a special report which presents the Indian-Sri Lankan arrangement as a potential threat to the United States interests in the region. It follows from the report, however, that the "Heritage Foundation" views these interests above all through the prism of Washington's strategic ambitions in the Indian Ocean where a particularly large build-up of the U.S. military presence has been taking place of late.

The Indian-Sri Lankan agreement was welcomed by the Soviet Union as the new confirmaiton of the fact that a long-drawn out problem can be resolved at a negotiating table, in a non-violent way, by a dialogue. It is held in the Soviet Union that the leaders of the two neighbouring non-aligned countries by signing the agreement showed statesmanship, profound understanding of long-term national interests of their countries. It was confirmed once again that peaceful non-aligned countries do not need confrontation, that it suits only those forces that use conflicts, national strife, suspiciousness between neighbours as a pretext for interference and attempts to impose their supremacy.

Soviet diplomatic circles express the hope that a consistent implementation of the agreement signed in Colombo will ensure complete normalisation of the situation in Sri Lanka, will remove difficulties in relations between the two neighbouring countries, will be promoting peace and stability in South Asia.

East Europe

Bloc Supports U.S.-Soviet Arms Agreement

Jaruzelski on Principle

LD192038 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Warsaw September 19 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. agreement in principle to conclude a treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles makes it possible to make a breakthrough in efforts to strengthen peace and security of peoples, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of Poland's State Council. He made this comment in an interview with the PAP news agency today. The historic agreement in disarmament field which will mean a complete elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons is feasible.

The agreement convincingly proves that only honest talks can ensure security for peoples.

The Polish people, who lived through the horrors of a war, realise the importance of this crucial moment and approve it, the Polish leader said.

The consistently realistic and humane policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, marked by a sense of great responsibility, enjoys special support in Poland in view of the new prospects.

Romania Welcomes Agreement

LD192027 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Bucharest September 19 TASS—Romania welcomes the agreement in principle between the USSR and the USA to conclude a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, the AGERPRES news agency said in a statement today. This is an international event of special importance which opens the way to eliminating nuclear medium- and shorter-range missiles and marks an important step towards complete elimination of all types of nuclear weapons.

TANJUG Comments

LD202112 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] Belgrade September 20 TASS—The agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the USA on signing a treaty on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles is evaluated among the Yugoslav political quarters as a considerable positive step towards a reduction of nuclear weapons, the TANJUG agency stressed. The Soviet-American agreement may become a history-making act in the process of disarmament and is, indisputably, a major contribution to eliminating the threat of war and building a new stage in the world political processes.

Yugoslavia believes, the agency notes, that the abolition of medium-range and shorter-range missiles will have a favourable impact and lead to a change for the better of international relations as a whole. It is inspiring that the two major nuclear powers are practically on the verge of signing a specific agreement, which is a historical chance not only for curbing the arms race, but also for the start of the disarmament process. Progress on that way will open up real opportunities for general and complete nuclear disarmament, a cut in the conventional weapons, strengthening security and cooperation between states, TANJUG noted.

West Europe

DPA Reports Plea for Rust Pardon Submitted

LD171714 Hamburg DPA in German 1449 GMT 17 Sep 87

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA) — The petition for pardon made by the mother of the pilot Mathias Rust, who has been sentenced to 4 years in a labor camp, has now been presented to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. It was reported in Moscow today that the petition is addressed to Soviet head of state Andrey Gromyko, who is chairman of the Petitions Committee of the Supreme Soviet. According to his lawyer, Vsevolod Yakovlev, Rust is himself considering making a plea for pardon.

Yakovlev visited Rust today at the Lefortovo remand prison, to examine with him the official report of the 3-day trial at the beginning of September. Rust had the opportunity to make alterations to the report. The USSR Supreme Court did not tape record the trial but simply had minutes taken. Until the official report is worked through, the 19-year-old will remain in Lefortovo. [passage omitted]

Cologne Radio Report on 'Arrests' Decried

LD171707 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 17 Sep

[Text] Moscow, 17 Sep (TASS)—The Cologne radio station Deutsche Welle has flabbergasted its listeners with its latest "red-hot sensation." This radio station asserted that on 13 September "about 100 people who were trying to collect a petition in defense of FRG citizen Mathias Rust" were arrested in Moscow. And still they say that positive changes are allegedly taking place in the Soviet Union in all spheres of economic, social, and public life....

This is not the first time that Deutsche Welle has tried to smear the deep processes taking place in the USSR, nor are these methods new. If the employees of the radio station were to rely during the preparation of their reports on more reliable sources, on normal and more or less decent people, they would have found out the following.

It is true that on 13 September some people who had assembled on Arbat St, where many Muscovites like to spend their spare time, tried to dispute the conviction of FRG citizen Rust. However, when the people around who were indignant at the unceremonious and blatant behavior of the rowdies tried to call them to order, the latter behaved like very experienced hooligans. The indignant Muscovites appealed to representatives of the law enforcement bodies for protection from such rowdies. The procurator who investigated this matter and heard witnesses warned a participant in this escapade, a certain Debryanskaya, and others about the need to observe public order. Debryanskaya was fined for violating public order. Now, however, Deutsche Welle is describing to the whole world these obligatory measures taken by the law enforcement bodies as 100 people having been arrested!

There is no need to talk about the decency and objectivity of those who prepared and broadcast this slanderous "canard." Lies have never served the cause of strengthening trust between peoples. It is time that this truth was mastered by the gentlemen from Deutsche Welle.

Further on Spanish Delegation's Visit

Holds Talks With Yakovlev

PM181409 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received on 16 September a delegation from Spain's General Cortes headed by F. Pons, speaker of the Congress of Deputies of Spain's General Cortes, which is on an official visit to our country.

The talk, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, touched on questions of Soviet-Spanish relations, including the further development of contacts and exchanges between the USSR Supreme Soviet and Spain's General Cortes, as well as topical questions of strengthening confidence and security on the European continent and in East-West relations as a whole.

The Soviet side drew attention to the need in international security affairs to be guided by new approaches and new political thinking. Unfortunately, there have still not been any visible signs that certain very influential circles are eschewing the views of the prenuclear era or ceasing to use old ideas about the questions of war and peace. Sometimes militarist aspirations are camouflaged in professionally packaged political propaganda concepts and phraseology, at other times belligerent national egoism is openly manifest in the form of claims to "vitally important interests" in all parts of the world and backed up with shows of force and saber-rattling.

Nonetheless mankind's self-protection reflexes are clearly starting to work in the face of the nuclear realities. The realization that urgent action is needed to save civilization is starting to make headway through the obstacles of mistrust, ingrained stereotypes, and all kinds of historical "grievances" and mutual claims. This is creating a definite basis for movement toward a nuclear-free nonviolent world. Real opportunities have emerged for taking the first steps toward destroying nuclear weapons and ensuring disarmament.

Mutual trust is an inalienable component of and an important factor in the movement in this direction. But it does not come about by itself and cannot emerge independently of the process of strengthening security and cooperation as a whole. It will have to be created during this process—as one of its most essential results—and through joint efforts in practical work too.

The Spanish parliamentarians noted the importance of moving toward a more secure world free from the nuclear threat. The decision made on the basis of an extensive referendum not to allow nuclear weapons into the country in peacetime was stressed in this connection, as was the fact that Spain has ratified the Nonproliferation Treaty. At the same time, Spain's political membership of the European Community and the Western world as a whole was emphasized.

The General Cortes delegation was briefed on the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union in the context of strengthening peace and international security. The Spanish side wished success to the transformations begun in the USSR—transformations whose implementation will be an additional factor in improving the situation in the world.

Taking part in the meeting were USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies A.N. Aksenov, G.A. Arbatov, and V.V. Zagladin and also J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR.

Meets With Ryzhkov

PM181131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conversation in Kremlin"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin 17 September F. Pons, speaker of the Congress of Deputies of the Spanish Cortes, who is visiting the USSR at the head of a Spanish parliamentary delegation at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on questions of Soviet-Spanish bilateral relations as well as on topical international problems.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the considerable development of Soviet-Spanish ties in recent years. There are no disputes between our countries. N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that relations with Spain take their proper place in Soviet foreign policy and are becoming increasingly active, and we share a common language with Spain on many questions. The themes of detente and disarmament are undoubtedly central in our conversations with Spain's representatives. This is no chance event. Both our countries are interested in peace and in consigning to the past such concepts as confrontation, hostility, and distrust. The arms race in the nuclear and space age threatens mankind with destruction and is totally senseless.

The Soviet Government supports the more dynamic development of Soviet-Spanish trade and economic exchanges. The pace of development in this area is quite good but it is important that it be increased.

F. Pons, for his part, also advocated the progressive development of Spanish-Soviet relations. It is important to make up for what was lost during the 40 years of alienation from one another. A better knowledge of each another is a sure way to achieve trust and mutual cooperation.

The conversation was held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

Departs 20 Sep

LD202150 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The delegation of the Spanish Las Cortes Generales led by President of the Congress of Deputies Felix Pons has left the Soviet Union today. The Spanish MPs were on an official visit in the USSR at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Spanish Minister Praises Arms Accord

LD191719 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 19 Sep 87

[Text] Madrid September 19 TASS—Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, has described as "an absolutely unprecedented event" the agreement in principle between the United States and the Soviet Union on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

In a statement to Spanish national radio today before leaving by air for New York to attend the regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, he emphasized that for the first time in history the world embarked, as he hopes, upon an irreversible road of reduction in nuclear arms.

This, in the opinion of Ordonez, should also result in cutbacks in conventional arms, i.e., in a balance in the field of conventional arms at the lowest level.

Belgium To Send Minesweepers to Gulf

LD202153 Moscow TASS in English 2103 GMT 20 Sep 87

[Text] Brussels September 20 TASS—Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens said today that the Belgian minesweepers due to be dispatched to the Persian Gulf zone tomorrow will stay for four months and a half in the Strait of Hormuz zone and will not move northward of Qatar Emirate.

Speaking on television, the Belgian prime minister said that his country's minesweepers will be under "heavy protection" of British warships staying in the Gulf. The Belgian ships, Martens said, are fitted out with "weapons necessary for carrying out their mission".

Among the crews of the Belgian minesweepers, the prime minister said, are 50 draftees of the Navy who voluntarily go to carry out that mission. The stay of the Belgian war ships in the Persian Gulf will cost the state 50 million Belgian francs.

The prime minister admitted that the Belgian ships were going to the Persian Gulf in keeping with the decision of the Western European Union.

Political & Social

FRG Paper Reports Gorbachev 'Food Poisoning'

DW210752 Hamburg BILD in German 21 Sep 87 pp 1,14

[Unattributed report:"Poisoning! Gorbachev Seriously Ill During Vacation"]

[Text] The secret about party chief Gorbachev's long vacation is out. He was seriously ill. As *Bild* learned in Moscow, the most powerful man in the Soviet Union had to interrupt his vacation and was brought to a Crimean hospital with fatally dangerous food poisoning. Accident or assassination—authorities are said to be still investigating. It would have been the second assassination attempt on Gorbachev. The first was apparently planned in Riga in February. One day before Gorbachev's visit a police car filled with explosives was discovered...

Gorbachev's reform course (more openness, more democracy, a greater struggle against alcoholism) has created many enemies for him among entrenched fuctionaries afraid of losing their special privileges. Western observers believe that he is far from being out of danger.

New rumors about Gorbachev were heard in Moscow because he had not been seen in public since 6 August. "He is on leave," it was said officially. The extreme length (6 weeks) was explained by saying that "he has worked extremely hard in the last few months."

That was only half the truth.

In fact Gorbachev was happily vacationing, together with his wife, in Yalta on the Black Sea. He went for walks, visited agricultural enterprises, and made a trip to Sochi.

After 3 weeks he suddenly felt sick. He had diarrhea, a bad headache, a high fever, and his joints were aching. Eventually the party chief had to be hospitalized for a "long period of time." Weakened (he is said to have lost 3 kg), he continued his vacation to recover from the severe illness.

Last Friday, at about 1245 he returned to Moscow. He did not travel by plane (as usual), but by rail. Kremlin confidant: "Only sick government leaders return by rail because they can be taken care of better that way and because it is less conspicuous."

A convoy of six black limousines picked up Gorbachev, the last was a camouflaged black ambulance. Gorbachev, with a light suntan, entered the first limousine.

Coincidence or diversion? In the Saturday issue of the trade union newspaper *Trud*, Deputy Minister of Health Georgiy Khlyabich strongly criticized poor sanitary conditions in food processing.

Particularly milk was said to be polluted with pesticides and bacteria. Some 622 dairies have been closed and 2,000 people are said to have contracted dysentery after having eaten sour cream.

Gorbachev Greets Academy of Architecture

LD211010 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 21 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Follows the text of Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greeting to the first session of the International Academy of Architecture:

Let me cordially greet the participants in the first session of the International Academy of Architecture.

Architecture has occupied a prominent place in the evolution of human society. It has been connected with the fulfilment of highly important social tasks, direclty involved in shaping the humans' material habitat, and influencing the spiritual life and aesthetic education of every person.

Representing the social sphere, architects may not stay away from the resolution of pressing problems on which the fate of our entire civilization depends.

In this connection I set great store by your desire to make a contribution of your own to accomplishing the overriding task of the times—preventing nuclear disaster and ensuring a peaceful and just future for all nations in the name of their mutual understanding and cooperation.

I am convinced that the active participation of the broadest sections of the peace-loving public is an earnest of success in efforts to realize these great humanistic ideals.

I would like to wish the International Academy of Architecture success in uniting the efforts of architects for the benefit of peace and progress.

M. Gorbachev.

Moscow TV Broadcasts Moscow Day Ceremonies

LD191007 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 19 September broadcast the first of three scheduled half-hour relays of material on ceremonies marking Moscow's 840th anniversary. This relay consisted primarily of a recording of a ceremony held in Moscow's Red Square at 0600 GMT on 19 September.

The program opened with clips of a procession of outstanding workers and veterans, representatives of public organizations, and city leaders entering Red Square, where ranks of unsmiling faces awaited them, topped by bunches of brightly-coloured balloons. In the front row of this procession walked Yeltsin, a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, present in his capacity as first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; and Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

Saykin addressed the gathering from the top of the Lenin mausoleum, with Yeltsin standing by his side. Saykin's brief remarks praised the city and declared the day's celebrations open.

A column of BTR-60 armored personnel carriers entered the square, halted in front of the mausoleum, and unloaded a garland of pinebranches which was placed at the mausoleum to honor the fallen heroes of the capital. Various groups placed flowers at the front of the mausoleum and at the base of the Kremlin wall. The proceedings were accompanied by Russian composers' music and heroic poetry and prose over a loudspeaker system. A group of young people performed a dance routine on Red Square.

An announcer said this is only a start to the day's festivities and introduces correspondents at the Sadovoye Koltso, the Moscow inner city ring road, where a procession of floats and tableaux depicting events in Moscow's history passed. The TV correspondents interviewed people in the streets along the route of the parade and narrated the displays on the floats. The relay ended at 0830.

Aliyev Attends 17 September Kremlin Concert

PM181127 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Pravda* in Russian 18 September 1987 Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "'I Love You, Russia'" a 600-word D. Gorbuntsov report on the second all-union folk festival concert, held in the Kremlin 17 September, on the theme of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The report notes that "the concert was attended by Comrades G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, and G.P. Razumovskiy."

Tolstykh Chairs Youth Council Meeting

PM181107 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 p 1

[T. Korsakova report: "Young People's Scientific and Technical Creativity Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] A session of the All-Union Coordinating Council for Young People's Scientific and Technical Creativity chaired by B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, has been held in Moscow.

The quite recently created public and state system for young people's science and technical creativity has a good name in the country. The system offers young scientists, engineers, rationalizers, inventors, and amateurs enormous opportunities to realize their creative ideas. The first research efforts of centers for young people's scientific and technical creativity are bearing fruit.

There are nevertheless already grounds for disquiet. The formation of a system for young people's scientific and technical creativity is being developed too slowly at local level. Young people's activity is running up against the sluggishness of local organs which wait for instructions from above, being either fearful or incapable of showing initiative. Many questions relating to the material support and financing of young people's scientific and technical creativity are not being solved at local level, even though the system for young people's scientific and technical creativity is adequately decentralized and gives extensive rights to its organizers.

The All-Union Coordinating Council has supported the work of the Odessa coordinating council in creating a system for young people's scientific and technical creativity. An instruction has been issued to the USSR Gosplan, the Gossnab, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the Ministry of Finance to solve as quickly as possible the problems associated with the creation and functioning of a public and state system of scientific and technical creativity and to bring normative documents into line with the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) and other documents on improving the economic mechanism.

Workers of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR ministries and departments, and deputy chairmen of union republic councils of ministers took part in the session.

The session was addressed by I. Ordzhonikidze, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Solovyev Attends Veteran Communists' Meeting

LD170311 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting of old Bolsheviks took place at Smolnyy in Leningrad today. Veteran Communists spoke with great interest about matters of concern to them during the period of the revolutionary restructuring of the society and how to make more efficient use of the Leninist principles for educating young people in October traditions. Comrade Solovyev took part in the meeting.

Gromyko Chairs Presidium Session

LD190459 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held today in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It examined the matter of the work of Azerbaijan's Soviets of People's Deputies in executing the integrated plan for development of consumer goods production and of the services sector. Also discussed was the work by the Soviets of People's Deputies in Volgograd Oblast in enhancing the role of cultural and educational establishments under the conditions of restructuring. Decisions were adopted on the matters under discussion and will be published in the press.

The Presidium session passed a resolution on the convocation of the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and examined certain other matters of the country's state life. Taking part in discussion were comrades Shcherbitskiy, Yeltsin, and Solovyev.

Supreme Soviet To Convene 19 October

LD181357 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—The regular session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet parliament, will open in Moscow on October 19 in Moscow. This was decreed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its meeting today.

The session will have the following items on its agenda: the state plan of the economic and social development of the USSR in 1988 and the course of fulfilment of the state plan of the economic and social development of the USSR in 1987; the state budget of the USSR for 1988 and the fulfilment of the state budget of the USSR for 1986; endorsement of decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Dissident Catholic Leader Leaves For West

AU181953 Paris AFP in English 1913 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Dissident priest Josip Terelya, a leader of the banned Ukrainian Catholic church, left here Friday for the West after being permitted to emigrate by Soviet authorities, Canadian Consul Gilles Durocher told AFP.

Mr. Durocher, who saw Father Terelya off at the airport on an Aeroflot flight for Amsterdam which left here at 8:00 p.m. (1600 GMT), said the priest did not know where he would settle, but there was a possibility he might go to Canada.

The priest was due to go to Rome after Amsterdam, Mr. Durocher said.

Father Terelya, 47, who has a long history of internment for his religious views, was last sentenced in 1985 to 12 years in labour camp, and was released along with about 150 other political prisoners under a decree issued last February.

Last month, he reportedly wrote to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, along with other Ukrainian church leaders, calling for the legalisation of their Greco-Catholic church, known as the Uniate church.

The Uniate church was absorbed into the official Russian Orthodox Church in 1945, after all its leaders had been arrested. But the clandestine church continues to survive inside the Soviet Union and has more than one million faithful spread throughout the world.

Armenian Officials Disciplined After Fire

PM160957 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Editorial feature under the "Following IZVESTIYA Article" rubric: "They Had Plenty of Fun..."; feature incorporates responses from R. Arzumanyan, secretary of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Shaginyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs]

[Text] "They Had Fun... To the Point of Disaster" (*Izvestiya* No. 188)

This piece dealt with the fire which occurred at the Dzhrarat village disco and the shooting and other outrages, which took place at the "place of recreation" not long before the tragedy.

[Arzumanyan response] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the article and the criticism was deemed to be correct. The resolution adopted noted that *Izvestiya* correctly indicated the irresponsible attitude and lack of control on the part of party and soviet organs in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon and the republic's Ministry of Culture in constructing and running the disco in the Dzhrarat village House of Culture. The fire entailing loss of life was the result of this.

It was taken into consideration that P. Pogosyan, deputy chairman of the Echmiadzinskiy Rayispolkom and chairman of the rayon's cultural and sports complex, A. Terteryan, chief of the Rayispolkom Culture Department, and G. Rostomyan, director of the Raypotrebsoyuz Public Catering Association, have received party penalties and have been relieved of their posts by decision of the Echmiadzinskiy Raykom bureau.

It was noted that Dzh. Zakaryan, secretary of the Echmiadzinskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom, deserves a stricter party punishment; however, since she has asked to retire on pension, it was deemed possible to concur with the raykom bureau's decision to give her a strict reprimand.

The Central Committee Bureau drew the raykom's attention (First Secretary S. Mkhitaryan) to the unsatisfactory organization of young people's leisure activities in the Dzhrarat village House of Culture disco and the absence of control to ensure that the appropriate production and financial and economic discipline was maintained and that fire safety standards and the rules of public order were observed. The raykom was instructed to review the question of the personal responsibility of N. Yegiazaryan, member of the CPSU and chairman of the Echmiadzinskiy Rayispolkom.

R. Satyan, Armenian SSR deputy minister of culture, was reprimanded and had his record endorsed for failing to exercise the requisite control to ensure an ideological educational thrust and for permitting flagrant financial and economic violations in the work of this disco. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau censured Yu. Melik-Ogandzhanyan, Armenian SSR minister of culture, for unsatisfactory control over the activity of the ministry's appropriate subdivisions and untimely reaction to the fire in the disco.

R. Arzumanyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

A response also arrived from the Armenian MVD. It says that the facts cited in the article "They Had Fun... To the Point of Disaster" conform with what happened.

[Shaginyan response] On 14 January 1987 acts of hooliganism were carried out in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon's Dzhrarat village disco, and then a fire broke out, resulting in people's death. The instigators of the hooligan

actions Kechechnya, Grigoryan, and Petrosyan were arrested and will appear in court.

By decree of the Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs, B. Matevosyan, chief of the Echmiadzinskiy City Rayon Internal Affairs Department, has been strictly reprimanded. E. Shakhnazaryan, chief of the Echmiadzinskiy City Rayon Internal Affairs Department Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department, has been relieved of his post for unsatisfactory leadership of the department, poor organizational work, and failure to adopt the appropriate operational criminal investigation measures. O. Khachatryan, chief of the State Fire Inspectorate, and Senior Inspector L. Givargizov were relieved of their posts for their negligent attitude to their official duties, and Inspector M. Gabrielyan was warned that he was doing his job inadequately.

The chief of the Echmiadzinskiy City Rayon Internal Affairs Department has been instructed to urgently take the requisite measures to institute order in public catering enterprises.

A. Shaginyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs.

From the editorial office: After the court has reviewed this case, the editorial office will say what punishment was inflicted on those specifically responsible for the incident and those people who had long been making a bundle out of this "disco."

Unfinished Tashkent Apartment Block Collapses
PM211011 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Sep 87 p 4

[Report by TASS correspondent Yu. Kruzhilin: "Why Apartment Block Collapsed"]

[Text] Tashkent, 19 Sep—For no apparent reason a 17-story apartment block has collapsed in a densely populated region of Tashkent—on A. Kakhkhar street. Fortunately, there are no casualties: The multiapartment block was not finished and there were no construction workers at the site—it all happened late at night.

Like a number of (already inhabited) neighboring buildings this block was erected by the floor hoisting method. First the lift shaft of solid ferroconcrete was erected. Then the monolithic platforms of the floors between the stories were formed around it on the ground. One after another they were hoisted up to their place, where they were secured. The block was constructed "from the top down" so to speak—from the roof down to the foundation.

Now the lift shaft projects from the construction site on its own and all the rest lies at its base in a pile of debris. The hoisting mechanisms, including the stationary tower crane, also collapsed. Evidently the top platform had caved in because it was inadequately secured and the structures below collapsed after it like a stack of dominoes.

The official investigation has been started. It is being conducted by specialists from the Uzbekistan Gosstroy, planners, and other competent experts. Workers from the Tashkent Main Construction Administration are also taking part—after all the apartment block was constructed by a subdivision of the administration—the "Vysotstroy" trust's "Spetszhelezhobetonstroy" administration.

People here are now recalling the ill-fated school in the Kyzyl Kum city of Gazli, which collapsed during the earthquake we all remember, although if you were to believe the papers it had been erected following all the rules of earthquake-proof construction.

Both these instances have one thing in common: striking good luck. There was not a single person present in either the school or the 17-story apartment block at the time of the accidents. But there are differences: In the first instance there was at least an earthquake to account for the accident, but in the latter case there was not...

Dismissals Follow Arrest of Whistle-Blowers
PM161429 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 87 Second Edition p 3

[Response by Yu. Petrov, first secretary of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom, to 2 August PRAVDA article entitled "Just Try To Complain!": "Followup to PRAVDA Items"]

[Text] The Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom reports that the party obkom bureau has examined the results of the investigation into the incidents cited in the report and found that they did indeed take place.

It has been taken into account that the Rezh CPSU Gorkom Bureau has instituted party proceedings against the officials responsible for making the violations noted in the report possible. Yu. Khlebnikov, chairman of the Rezh Nickel Plant Trade Union Committee, and A. Anoshin, deputy chief of the Rezh City Internal Affairs Department, have been issued severe reprimands, which have been entered on their records. P. Starkov, chief of the Rezh City Internal Affairs Department, and A. Baranov, Rezh city prosecutor, have been given reprimands, entered on their records.

The chief of the Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration has ordered P. Starkov, chief of the Rezh City Internal Affairs Department, and his deputy, A. Anoshin, to be released from their duties for a flagrant violation of socialist legality, namely, the unlawful detention of Ye. Bychkova and G. Radionova. The oblast prosecutor has issued severe reprimands to Prosecutor A. Baranov and his deputy, A. Neustroyev, for their lack of principle and irresponsibility when investigating statements by Ye. Bychkova, G. Radionova, and others and for their bureaucratic, incomplete investigation into the criminal case concerning Kornilova.

The Oblast Prosecutor's Office has revoked the resolution to dismiss the Kornilova case, in order to carry out further investigation.

The Oblast Prosecutor's Office and the Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration have been instructed to take exhaustive measures to eradicate violations of

socialist legality by their staff and cases of a negligent attitude toward the examination of citizens' statements and complaints.

The CPSU Obkom Bureau has demanded that the Oblast Trade Union Council analyze the state of affairs in cultural institutions under its jurisdiction. Ye. Serkov, first secretary of the Rezh CPSU Gorkom, has been given a reprimand for his superficial examination of complaints and statements and his lack of principle in assessing the incidents described in the report "Just Try To Complain!"

A composite CPSU Obkom team has been sent to Rezh to study and give practical assistance in improving the activity of state and social organizations and to take measures on citizens' statements and appeals. Members of the CPSU Obkom team interviewed working people. Meetings were held in labor collectives.

Information on the measures taken by the obkom bureau as a result of the report "Just Try To Complain!" has been published in the newspaper *Uralskiy Rabochiy*.

Moscow TV Youth Program Shows Demonstration

LD202017 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1045 GMT on 20 September carries a regularly scheduled 35-minute magazine program for young people entitled "Twelfth Floor", which follows up on issues raised in earlier programs.

Eduard Salagayev, the regular presenter, opens by reporting that two people featured in the August edition received apartments immediately after the program went on the air, a young woman from the rural north of the country, and an Afghan veteran living in Sochi. Salagayev comments: "Surely it isn't necessary for television, and central television at that from Moscow, to get involved in the case for a person to get an apartment to which he is lawfully entitled. I do not want to offend anyone, and that includes the ordinary people out there on our staircase, but I would describe as typical of those out on the staircase the position of some of the people who write to us and of many of those in general who ponder about the way that restructuring is going in our country: a position of waiting for someone good and all-powerful to come along and turn our life round, solving all the problems and answering all the questions."

A 40-second video recording of a demonstration by supporters of the Pamyat (Memory) association then follows. It shows a column of people walking through city streets carrying banners proclaiming slogans such as: "For the Leninist policy of preserving the historical heritage," "We demand a meeting with M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin," "Status for the Pamyat patriotic association," "Stop the building on the Poklonnaya Gora," and "Down with the saboteurs of restructuring."

Many of those taking part in the demonstration appear to be young. Some smile and wave at the camera. The video shows no militia involvement.

Salagayev speaks over the film as follows: "It is not the slogans of the Pamyat association that give rise to doubts. They are exactly in the spirit of the times. Accurate words are being spoken by these people. In fact they have been received and have been listened to carefully at the Moscow City Soviet, and really there isn't anything new in this. What puts one on one's guard is something else: in demanding resolute measures against abstract opponents of restructuring they place themselves, as it were, above the complex processes taking place in life and consider that they alone have the right to present the conscience of the people, whereas conscience is primarily a question for oneself. It seems to me that Pamyat has to be something that is effective, it must be something that does some work."

Pamyat's Illegal Activities Scored

LD182040 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 87

[Video talk by publicist Georgiy Pryakhin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Good evening, comrades. You will, of course, know from material published in our Soviet press that of late individual seperatists have made attempts at illegal actions under clearly nationalistic slogans. It is no secret to anyone, for example, that Zionist provocateurs intended to hold one of their gatherings in Moscow. The Moscow Soviet, absolutely fairly and legally, turned down their claims. Here is a characteristic detail: A considerable proportion of the people who were inclined one way or another to take part in this action understood that it would not lead to anything good. They understood this and voluntarily refused to support the provocateurs. The Soviet public also unambiguously condemned the provocative sallies of nationalist elements in the Baltic Republics. Recently it became known that certain activists from the Pamyat society resolved to erect a monument to Sergey Radonezhskiy. Well, in itself, the idea arouses no objections at all. We know and honor the memory of Dmitriy Donskoy, Aleksandr Nevskiy, Bogdan Khelnitskiy, and many other patriots who did so much for the history of our homeland.

Nevertheless, in this specific instance, with this monument, this is once again being done bypassing Soviet law, bypassing the Soviet public itself. Nobody has discussed or confirmed the design for the monument; local Soviet bodies have also been ignored. The Soviet public has in the past quite rightly condemned individual, incompetent decisions made behind closed doors, as happened with the construction of the victory monument on Poklonnaya Gora.

We now see the results of the undemocratic actions for developing the design and construction of this monument. Unfortunately Moscow has been left without this monument. That is the result. Now there are obvious attempts to carry out, without prior arrangements and without consulting the broad public, an essentially illegal action aimed at achieving dubious goals. Those who

initiated the monument venture are conceitedly counting on attracting the attention of individual journalists and certain culture figures to their provocation. With regard to this venture, I think: What concept is closest to the concept of the memory and the monument itself? Of course, this must be the concept of respect. But can we speak about respect in this case? Both for the hero of the monument and for us, the broad Soviet public, Soviet people? I think that in this case there is not a trace of respect. If things are run this way, behind closed doors and in such an arbitrary manner, we will not only fail to help restructuring but we will create additional difficulties in its way.

Unswerving compliance with the law, respect for the law, and careful regard for public views on all the most important issues of our life—these are precisely the conditions for the developemnt of true socialist democracy, and this has been shown eloquently in our time. But in this case it seems, certain persons cannot keep still. They cannot help covering up anarchism, and claims and ambitions for all-permissiveness with references to democracy in a way the leaders of Pamyat understand it.

It is clear that the dubious action conceived by certain leaders of Pamyat contradicts the process of restructuring itself, the process of democratization in the life of Soviet society, and the ideas of glasnost in restructuring. It is precisely because of this, first of all, that it evokes a legitimate protest in Soviet people. You know, I would like to end our conversation with a reference to the editorial article in today's evening edition of *Izvestiya*. The editorial is headed: Whom Does our Restructuring Perturb? I quote: We are going along a new road, the newspaper writes. Our situation is not a simple one. Yet we will not renege on the ideas of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. Over the short period that has passed since revolutionary transformation started in our life we have convinced ourselves of the beneficial character of changes that are taking place. They are becoming irreversible. Nobody will succeed in stopping them. I think that these words bear a direct relation to the saddening fact that we have been talking about. Thank you and goodbye. '

'Lies' About 'Jewish Question' Derided

PM181745 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Editorial Article: "Those Who Dislike Our Restructuring"]

[Text] The democratization of our life, the development of glasnost, and the economic reforms are arousing great interest in the world. In a short space of time two words—restructuring and glasnost—have become truly international concepts.

Initially some people in the West bided their time while others fooled themselves into thinking that restructuring and glasnost would lead to a deviation from socialist principles. However, when they saw for themselves that the changes in our social and economic life would mean more socialism and enable us in practice to fully show the the advantages of our system and that these changes would simply strengthen our "purity and strength," reactionary political circles in the West, their special services, and propaganda apparatus suddenly began thinking and are now launching increasingly active attacks on restructuring and glasnost.

The aim of all this is to diminish the attractiveness of our actions in the eyes of the public in their own countries and of Soviet people and to sow seeds of doubt about the sincerity and feasibility of restructuring.

Their first aim seems to be to launch the most noisy speculation on the "nationalities problem." The means are the same, taken from the arsenal of "psychological warfare", that is, the juggling of facts, the absurd fabrications, things which people simply call lies. They report that in Alma-Ata, tanks "were used against people," they transform a gathering of 200 people in Vilnius into crowds numbering many thousands, and so forth.

When matters reached their height, predictably enough, they began, as always, to repeatedly exaggerate the so-called "Jewish question." It has all been so well rehearsed, such a well-worn anti-Soviet track has been laid, and the methods and means are so familiar that you can only wonder at the enduring nature of the stereotyped thinking of the organizers of the present campaigns.

Let us not beat about the bush. Those Western circles who lament the "fate of Soviet Jews" do not do so out of a sense of philanthropy. No, they do not care about people for their own sake. They urgently need a "problem" which they can stir up endlessly so as to denigrate our life and our ways. That, so to speak, is the general scheme.

But they vary the scheme and adapt it to different situations. The aim of the Zionist centers and Western special services now is that their "champions of human rights" should not leave the USSR but should remain in our country and try to turn the development of glasnost and democratization against our society.

In the United States there is a law which states that any American working for a foreign company or foreign government is officially registered as the "agent of a foreign state." It is clear who our renegades are working for and to whom they send their various anti-Soviet statements and fabrications. It is no coincidence that they run to Western correspondents with all their appeals. There is no law on "agents of a foreign state" in our country. You get the impression that the Western special services and propaganda departments take advantage of this fact to maintain what are essentially their paid people.

Let us be frank. Are there still people who wish to emigrate from the USSR? Yes, considerably fewer than there were, but they do exist. Our government has met

halfway many families dispersed among various countries during the last war. Some people have left us, and others have come to us to be reunited with relatives. The emigration regulations were simplified a year ago. But every state—and this is its sovereign right—establishes a certain procedure concerning the immigration of foreigners into the country and the emigration of its own citizens from it. The law is quite clear here: The state can allow persons to whom state and military secrets have been entrusted to leave it only after a certain time has elapsed. The reasons are perfectly understandable—interests of state security. That is the first point. The second: There is every human reason, as it were, to refuse citizens a visa until they fulfill their obligations, envisaged by the law, toward their relatives: Parents with regard to young children remaining in the country; adult children with regard to elderly parents.

Let us cite a few facts and figures. During the first 7 months of this year—the time the simplified emigration regulations have been in effect—13,000 people were permitted to emigrate from the USSR, including 4,000 to Israel. Of those who received permission, approximately 200 declined it.

But since it is impossible to deduce any natural laws for the cliche "no one is let out of the USSR," anti-Soviet circles have to rely on chance. From time to time they drag one more "sufferer" out into the light. At present, for example, the game revolves around Semenovskiy, Shurkhut, and the Kholmyanskiys, husband and wife. It is said that they are being prevented from reuniting with relatives in Israel. In fact, they are not being denied emigration. They are told in reply: Emigrate, but on condition that you observe your civic duties toward blood relatives remaining in the USSR. Is that not fair? However, Western propaganda services do not care about this—so long as they have something to catch hold of. It is not people's interests and rights that concern them but exclusively the propaganda topping. Having laid absurd charges of violating human rights, it is on this that Zionist centers and Western special services chiefly build loud anti-Soviet campaigns.

We are internationalists. Our attitude toward both anti-Semitism and Zionism is unequivocally negative. V.I. Lenin once wrote that "the full unity of the Jewish and the non-Jewish proletariat is particularly necessary, moreover, for the successful struggle against anti-Semitism, that vile fanning of racial apartness and national enmity" (Vol 7, pp 245-246). Let us recall Article 64 of the USSR Constitution. It is everyone's duty, it states, "to respect the national dignity of other citizens and strengthen the friendship of the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet multinational state." That is the meaning and aim of our policy.

But this is not how the leaders of "Pamyat" think and act. This formation has been written about, by our newspaper included, and there is no need to repeat ourselves. The organizers and inspirers of the "movement" have adroitly mixed up patriotic principles and people's pure desire to preserve the memory of the past with great-power chauvinism. There followed a principled and open analysis in the press of this society's activity and calm separation of the wheat from the chaff.

The anti-Soviet circles in the West would very much like to push us off the road of glasnost and democratization. However, neither the Zionist leaders who claim the right to speak "on behalf of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality," nor the group of latter-day members of the Black Hundred [anti-revolutionary groups in Russia at turn of century] who have managed to infiltrate the "Pamyat" society, nor the handful of Baltic nationalists who are manipulated by Western radio stations will divert us from the road of democratization and glasnost.

The passions raging around the "Pamyat" society have more or less subsided, the speculative aims of certain organizers of this society have become more or less clear to people. But suddenly the Zionist ringleaders have decided to exploit this for their purposes. Seven people have addressed a letter to the Moscow Gorispolkom. In it the actions of certain leaders of the "Pamyat" society which, we repeat, has been subjected to a clear and critical assessment, are identified with all but the official policy, no less... It would be difficult to come up with a more fantastic conclusion. Nonetheless, the "initiative group," as they are calling themselves, has asked the Moscow Gorispolkom to grant it permission to hold a rally with a program under the slogan "Anti-Pamyat," so to speak. The permission was not granted, with very good reason. After all, this kind of gathering could bring nothing, apart from kindling national strife and producing slander of the Soviet system.

In the past, discussing the question whether such facts should be published, we often exercised restraint. Would this not, we argued, give rise to some uncalled for sentiments among certain sections of our readers? Might they not transfer their feelings evoked by the actions of renegades to whole peoples and ethnic groups? We admit that we were wrong, and therefore we will henceforth make such facts public. Let the people know everything, see everything.

Our multinational people have sufficient political experience, firm moral precepts, common sense, and plenty of intellect, and no speculation on past grievances or present squabbles can cloud their realistic vision of our present existence with all its complexities and contradictions which are being overcome in the course of restructuring. True, we have cut short and will cut short the intrigues of militant Zionists. The efforts of the provocateurs who are trying to present this as some kind of "state anti-Semitism" are futile. This has never been characteristic of our society. It has to be sought elsewhere. Just as resolutely, we have cut short extreme manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism.

We are blazing a new trail and we are not finding it easy. However, we will not give up the ideas of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. Over the short time

which has elapsed since the beginning of the revolutionary transformations in our lives, we have been able to convince ourselves of the beneficial nature of the changes which are taking place. They are becoming irreversible, and no one will succeed in thwarting them.

Army Paper Views Democratization Problems

PM171009 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 87 First Edition pp 2-3

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Yu. Ageshin under the "27th CPSU Congress: Strategy of Acceleration" rubric: "Decisive Condition of Restructuring"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The democratization process is proceeding neither easily nor simply. Every step is achieved with difficulty and is made in the struggle against those who would like to derail restructuring. The June Central Committee plenum noted that "preserves" of inertia and lack of initiative are still retained in some places locally. Excessive organization and bureaucracy—those chief enemies of true democracy—will not depart from life voluntarily. They are defending themselves cunningly and masking themselves skillfully, mastering the vocabulary of restructuring and continuing to stifle creative thought and living deeds. The situation whereby some people "announce" and "pronounce" truths and others merely "heed" them has not receded into the past. We are still not succeeding in ridding ourselves everywhere of excessive administration, of unnecessary regimentation and interdiction, or in destroying the wall of bureaucratic distrust in people's intelligence and experience.

Everyone seems to pay lip service to democratization. But as soon as it began to take a drastic turn toward action and to permeate all strata of society, to reach specific people, a contradiction began to surface between immediate, narrowly understood interests and even the selfish motives of individual people and groups and the interests of all society and the long-term interests of working people. From the press and from television programs we know of situations where some people try to use the atmosphere of openness and glasnost by no means in the interests of restructuring and renewal but for achieving their own selfish goals.

Certain "costs" of the process of democratization are also manifested in the appointment of leaders of various ranks by election, which is becoming increasingly widespread. There is no doubt that this is a very valuable venture but in some places people have managed to put even this process onto well-worn tracks. For instance, there are two candidacies, but the second is unrealistic, is merely pro forma. There is another extreme, when demagogues skilled in self publicity get leading posts while modest, honest workers with good professional qualities remain in the shadows, to the detriment of the cause. The party is pointing to the need to resolutely struggle against these phenomena and to struggle with glasnost openly. Living and working under the conditions of the expansion of democracy means not being afraid of discussions or the clash of opinions and positions.

The party's course toward restructuring and the expansion of democracy and glasnost has generated a negative reaction from our ideological adversaries. They are particularly perturbed by the prospects of the consolidation of the Soviet state and the growth of the attraction of the ideas of socialism. They are doing everything to discredit the country's historical path and the practice of socialist building. Bourgeois propaganda is now trying to use for its subversive purposes the process of the improvement of socialist democracy now developing in the USSR, trying to foist on Soviet people a bourgeois understanding of democracy and seeking to remove the process of the enhancement of working people's sociopolitical activeness from the party's influence, to split the unity of the party and people, and to implant political and ideological pluralism. Foreign subversive centers are making attempts to push the various independent associations arising in our country toward antisocial positions and onto the path of hostile activity.

Firmly and unswervingly steering a line toward the intensification and expansion of democracy, our party invariably stresses that true democracy, while preserving the rights of every person, at the same time is called on to ensure the observance of the rights and interests of other people and of society as a whole. Restructuring in our state and society is implemented under the leadership of the Communist Party within the framework of socialism and in the interests of our society.

The main, determining, feature of socialist democracy is the organic combination of democracy and discipline, autonomy and responsibility, the rights and duties of officials and of each citizen. Socialist democracy has nothing in common with permissiveness, irresponsibility, or anarchy. It does not exist outside the law and above the law. It serves every person, defending his political and social rights. At the same time it serves every collective and society as a whole, defending their interests.

More democracy means more proprietorial responsibility for everything taking place in the labor collective, rayon, city, and country as a whole; it means social democracy asserted everywhere; it means the constant raising of organization and conscious discipline and order and the triumph of socialist legality—an essential condition for the social protection of the working person; it means an incomparably higher level of political and social culture for the broadest masses of working people.

We need democracy for making successful headway. That is why the direct, personal, and real participation of each person in the democratization process as it gathers momentum is not a good intention, not the latest fashion. Under the conditions of socialism it is an urgent requirement of practice, an essential part of full human existence.

Democratization must pervade all spheres of Soviet society and all avenues of our work, including the military organization. The army of the socialist state was

and is conceived as a most democratic army. One-man leadership in the army and democratization do not contradict each other, as some people suppose, but constitute a single whole and strengthen each other in the interests of the main thing—raising the troops' combat capability and combat readiness. The process of democratization in the army is the process of the expansion of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism, the commanders' closeness to the soldiers, and the active participation of party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations and all servicemen in resolving the tasks facing the subunit, unit, or ship.

At the meeting of the USSR Defense Ministry party aktiv which discussed the results of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, the keynote speaker and speakers spoke of the need for an active struggle against formalism, bureaucracy, paper shuffling, distortions of disciplinary practice, and other negative phenomena. The expansion of glasnost, which for a long time was relegated to the background or entirely prevented on the pretext that it was unacceptable under the conditions of the Armed Forces, acts as an effective means in this struggle. The expansion of glasnost presupposes open criticism of shortcomings, the propaganda and introduction of what is new and progressive, and the ability of the commander to heed his subordinates' statements and opinions. This is in the interests of raising combat readiness.

The tasks of further all-embracing democratization, whose main essence consists in the transition from the present level of democracy to its supreme form—the people's real socialist self-administration—are truly enormous and diverse. They will unfailingly be fulfilled.

PRAVDA Readers Comment on 'Personality Cult'

PM180811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 87 Second Edition p 3

[Roundup of readers' letters commenting on 23 July PRAVDA article by L. Kurin: "'The People Will Tell the Truth.' Reaction to Article. Viewpoints, Polemics"—first five paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] In the 6 weeks since the publication of L. Kurin's article "The People Will Tell the Truth" (see *Pravda* for 23 July) the editorial office has received over 200 responses.

The article used several letters written by people who cited a number of press publications which tried in one way or another to interpret the question of the personality cult in an overly emotional and sweeping way. How is it possible, readers asked, to reduce conflicting and multifaceted phenomena, events, and episodes to a single denominator and force them to fit into a single formula—"the personality cult"?

A trenchant and complex question. The editorial office did not expect a simple answer to it. Indeed, people responded in different ways.

One thing is clear: The approach to this question must not be emotional. It is also clear that we all think about our motherland and wish it nothing but good, we are all on the same side of the barricade and act in the interests of socialism.

So, in view of this, the editorial office is publishing some of the responses to the article "The People Will Tell the Truth" which reflect the main ideas in the readers' mail.

I have long wanted to write a letter to *Pravda* on my attitude to our history and the affairs of our generation, but for some reason I decided not to and put my pen down. I thought: I am no scientist, no historian, will my words sound convincing? It was only after I closely read through M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the leaders of the mass media and read *Pravda*'s roundup of letters "The People Will Tell the Truth" that I dared express my opinion.

First of all, I should like to say a few words about myself. Do not consider this vanity. I am writing about myself simply to say that I have experienced quite a lot. When the Great Patriotic War began I was 22 years old. I was editor of the rayon newspaper in the Pskov region. The fascists entered our rayon 7 July 1941. On that day I became a partisan. I was an intelligence officer and a soldier, I fought, I wrote pamphlets, and I edited partisan newspapers.

During the worst days of the war behind enemy lines I wrote songs. They were sung by partisans in Leningrad Oblast, Latvia, and Estonia. Although they were poor songs, of little artistic merit and hurriedly written, they expressed a vow to the motherland: "Better to die than surrender, but better to win than die!" The lyrics of one song included the words: "Dear Comrade Stalin sends us greetings, He inspires the Red partisans." Was there some cunning intent here? Can we really be accused of propagating the personality cult or accused of "Stalinism," as some people are now doing?

The people and the party were absolutely right to condemn Stalin's personality cult and all its tragic consequences. It is heartbreaking to read about the events of 1937 and 1938. That indeed cannot be justified or forgiven. But at the same time, that does not justify our denigrating the positive achievements of that time, the achievements of millions of people.

I was very pleased by what M.S. Gorbachev said during his meeting with leaders of the mass media about the fact that we cannot allow a disrespectful attitude to the achievements of the older generation. They provide an objective assessment of what our people have achieved in previous years.

Our lives were romantic, our work was inspired, and we gave our all. We rejoiced in life and devoted all our strength to the party, the country, and the people. I remember so many exemplars of honor, modesty, supreme diligence, and devotion to the motherland. I

could write a book about each one. Why cast aspersions on them? It is necessary not to repudiate the good traditions and principles of the older generation but to develop them; to inculcate in young people those noble qualities possessed by the people's best representatives in years gone by. Why undermine the foundation on which we are building restructuring?

I. Vinogradov, RSFSR Honored Culture Worker, Pskov.

I believe it is constantly necessary to speak out, to oppose the personality cult, and expose the tremendous harm resulting from it. What do I have in mind here above all? The personal devotion, servility, and fawning to every leader, whether he be a party, soviet, or economic leader, which were cultivated, inculcated, and fostered for decades. The contagion of deference to rank spread from top to bottom, soaking and eating into every pore of the apparatus.

The eradication of this whole repellent phenomenon will take several generations of constant, hour-by-hour reeducation and inculcation of universal and unremitting contempt and loathing for servility. The authority of a leader is exclusively the authority of intellect, professionalism, skill, honor, and innate democratic nature embodied in being first among equals. There are quite a few examples of this kind.

Of course newspapers and journals must provide examples of this kind both from the past and the present. But the portraits of good party and soviet leaders must be realistic and not retouched.

P. Karavayev, Novosibirsk.

As a propagandist I am most disturbed by the way in which some organs of information teeter from one extreme to the other. There has been so much empty talk, so many eulogies and unsystematic campaigns, and so much pretense in the past 15-20 years. Now, however, some people have gone to the other extreme—they have begun criticizing everyone and everything. Again there is a distortion, only this time in the other direction. I estimate that the ratio of negative to positive is nine to one.

It is especially painful and distressing for Bolsheviks and Communists of the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods. Their enthusiasm, devotion to the motherland and the party, and faith in the ideals of communism were boundless. Today's generations could learn from them. But no. In the writings of some journalists all these merits, all these moral and ethical values are sullied and confused, voluntarily or otherwise. As though people are to blame for having lived, worked, and fought (and how they fought!) at a time when the personality cult flourished. But just try to stand up for these people and the label of "Stalinist" is immediately pinned on you. This is very insulting.

An objective portrayal of the positive and negative, equal in quantity and quality—that is the way to the most effective, correct, and best influence on the masses.

V. Popov, CPSU member since 1970, Kyakhta, Buryat ASSR.

Our children, grandchildren, and greatgrandchildren must know the cost of the personality cult. The point of this is not to sit in judgment on the dead but to judge the living. The more truth we know about our past, the more reliable and accurate our verdict on the present and our idea of the future will be, too. To learn nothing from those tragic examples means to repeat over and over again the same mistake, whereby we were fed nothing but quotations and promises for many decades.

Now that we have wiped the windows clean, opened them wide, and seen how many blank spots there are in our recent history, we are obliged to give a truthful answer to the questions of millions of our compatriots.

Now that we have begun this work we must do it properly and see it through. We must not create our own blank spots because it is already clear how high the price of ignorance and silence is.

V. Yelsinovskiy, war and labor veteran, Leningrad.

I express my complete solidarity with the writers of the letters quoted in the *Pravda* review "The People Will Tell the Truth" who perceive with distress the defamation of the past which has now been started in the guise of condemning the personality cult.

This campaign is not only offensive to the older generation, it also causes irreparable harm to the education of young people. How can a young person understand the source of the mass heroism and the sincere, unfeigned enthusiasm of the early 5-year plans and the grim war years?

Can there be any real benefit now in yet more revelations from a viewpoint inside a prison cell or behind barbed wire? Such works produce nothing apart from a loss of faith in the party and disillusionment.

The party condemned the personality cult and its consequences in the most categorical and principled terms. It is now the time for action, for eliminating those consequences, and for eradicating the stagnation. Our main efforts must be devoted to that end, not the opening up of old wounds.

The position taken by M.S. Gorbachev at the meeting with leaders of the mass media provides a precise and clear guideline for reporting the path that has been traveled.

I believe it would be useful if *Pravda* published reviews and selections of letters on this theme. Within in the chorus of "proclaimers of the truth," however, one can already clearly hear voices saying that the industrialization, collectivization, and the cultural revolution were anti-Leninist. Those comrades are obeying the proverb: "Make hay while the sun shines."

S. Faynerman, Great Patriotic War participant and CPSU member since 1943, Tbilisi.

Let us ask ourselves: Do we want to go on looking at and assessing events solely in terms of glittering triumphs or attractive facades? History has shown that in these conditions our whole backyard is filled with weeds, but we are untroubled because we do not see them.

Therefore we need to extend glasnost to the events of the past not so as to denigrate anyone, least of all the dead, but in order to understand and realize as soon as possible the scope that exists for our future victories if we assess the negative aspects of past events properly and prevent their repetition in the future. The weapon here is glasnost and democracy, the Soviet people's invaluable gain.

V. Danilov, Cheboksary.

Thank you for publishing the article "The People Will Tell the Truth." There has long been a need to speak out against the drug with which some information organs have tried and still try to treat us. I am particularly concerned that, under the banner of a so-called "humanization," some authors are trying to impose on us readers a renunciation of the class approach to certain historical phenomena, events, and facts. I am opposed to vulgar sociologism. But I find "well-intentioned" vulgar humanism unacceptable, too.

Read any of V.I. Lenin's works. In each of them you can see the class approach, the class assessment. Has the class approach really lost its importance now? Can we really examine the complex and awkward phenomena of the past and of the present without it? I do not believe that.

B. Feldman, Moscow.

I am 37 years old. I, too, want to share with you the thoughts which came to me when reading the article "The People Will Tell the Truth."

It seems to me that the process of democratization and restructuring is having a harmful effect on some people—it is as though they were just waiting for the chance to criticize willy-nilly and to belittle everything without asking themselves: Is this in the interests of socialism or the good of the Soviet motherland? In some publications authors try to present their own emotions, suggestions, and personal conjectures as historical facts. I do not like "history" of that kind. I have met people who view all our difficult questions with a kind of malicious pleasure, like onlookers who even like to say spiteful things. The worse things are, the better they seem to find it. But such people are not the majority. The great mass of people understand everything perfectly well and cannot be diverted by sallies and cavalry attacks on history. You cannot defend our state's history with sword in hand. You cannot be tailor your attitude to suit the fashion. It is necessary to analyze the past objectively, seeing the interconnection of facts and phenomena.

N. Pavlov, Chuvash ASSR.

Economic

Slyunkov Addresses Economic Conference

PM181455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conferences at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference-seminar was held at the CPSU Central Committee 11-12 September involving the secretaries and economic department chiefs of the union republic communist party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms and also the secretaries of ministry and department party committees, which discussed party committees' tasks to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions concerning the radical restructuring of economic management.

N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; Yu.P. Batalin, L.A. Voronin, and V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; the heads of economic ministries and departments, and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee took part in the work of the conference-seminar.

N.N. Slyunkov delivered the report. He closely analyzed the current state of the economy and progress made in implementing party and government decisions adopted since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum to accelerate economic and social development. As he stressed in the report, the most important economic and political task is to increase the pace of the restructuring process, more rapidly introduce an integrated economic management system, and guarantee the fulfillment of the 5-year plan.

He described the work done by ministries, departments, and party, soviet, and economic bodies at local level to implement the most immediate measures in the radical economic reform program. Now the main aspect of party leadership of economic building and of the activity of central and local-level administrative bodies is to create the most favorable conditions for labor collectives to exercise the new rights and use the new potential given them by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

He also examined the tasks, stemming from the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum decisions, connected with restructuring the style, form, and methods of work of party bodies in their management of the economy.

The participants in the conference-seminar were also addressed by: Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR

Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Foreign Economic Commission; S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan; B.I. Gostev, USSR finance minister; I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; V.S. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices; N.V. Garetovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board; N.G. Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee on Statistics; F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; and Ye.K. Smirnitskiy, rector of the Academy of the National Economy.

There was a broad exchange of the experience of party committees' work to restructure economic management in the regions and sectors.

The tasks facing the country's machine building complex in the closing stages of 1987 were discussed at a conference held 12 September at the CPSU Central Committee.

N.N. Slyunkov; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab; the secretaries of the union republic communist party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms; the heads of ministries and central economic bodies, and senior members of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus took part in the conference's work.

It was noted at the conference that the slump in production permitted by the machine building complex at the beginning of the year is only slowly being made up. This is holding back the retooling of national economic sectors on a new technical basis. It was stressed that state, economic, and party bodies must take exhaustive measures to achieve a breakthrough in enterprises' work, ensure that plan targets for the manufacture of machine building products are met, and make up the shortfalls in the supply of these products to the national economy.

Given the present situation, the USSR Council of Ministers Machine Building Bureau must step up its work and the machine building ministries and central economic bodies must operate more efficiently.

Republic, kray, and oblast party committees are expected to resolve important tasks connected with mobilizing labor collectives to perform shock work and utilize all production reserves and potential.

It was emphasized that it is a point of honor for every machine building collective and every oblast, kray, and union republic party organization to achieve high results for the glorious 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and successfully complete the 2d year of the 5-year period.

The conference was addressed by N.N. Slyunkov.

Aganbegyan Discusses Economic Reform
DW180731 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 18 Sep 87 pp 23-24

[Interview with Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department, by correspondents Peter Christ and Nikolaus Pieper; date and place not given]

[Text] *Zeit*: Professor Aganbegyan, you have been a reformer from the very beginning and you have worked for decades on the economic bases of restructuring your country. Now your concepts have become reality. How do you feel now?

Aganbegyan: I am satisfied and eager to see the actual results of restructuring. We have worked out a uniform system of economic management, and now we are in the first stage of it. Now the time has come for us to switch from words to action. The next 3 years—that means through 1990—will be years of action.

Zeit: When did you first get the idea that the Soviet economy had to be changed radically?

Aganbegyan: That idea did not first come into my head or into some other individuals. It was dictated by the reality of life. The management system of our economy is based on the method of giving orders, and it was created in the extreme situation during the industrialization of our country in the late twenties and early thirties. We had to get out of our backwardness through a technical revolution in 10 years...

Zeit: ...A way you still consider correct retrospectively?

Aganbegyan: It was a matter of life or death. Had we not industrialized the Soviet Union, we would no longer be here. We would then have lost the war, with all its consequences. The application of force, such as in agricultural collectivization, was incorrect. Mass arrests and the introduction of food ration cards was incorrect. It would certainly have been possible to introduce a less harsh administrative system. As a whole, however, industrialization was historically justified.

However, when in the mid-fifties we set our economy on a peaceful course again, it became immediately clear that the system of economic management by command was slowing down development. Two attempts were made—under Nikita Khrushchev and Aleksey Kosygin—attempts to introduce economic methods of economic management, but each time the tendency to administer gained the upper hand.

Particularly in 1969 I took a most active position against a return to directive methods. At the time we had written a sharp report to the state management condemning that development. We predicted that the speed of economic growth would slow down if reform was not continued. Kosygin criticized us very much at that time, saying: You oppose the policy of the party. That marked us.

After that we became very quiet. Gradually, however, many of our ideas, such as a change in economic management, a turn toward more effective performance, productivity, quality, and scientific progress have been positively accepted.

Zeit: Were further attempts at economic reform made in the seventies?

Aganbegyan: Yes, but they were half-hearted and basically contradictory. Between 1979 and 1982 we had practically no economic growth. That was the period of economic stagnation. In some areas the living standard even decreased. The turning point came with the CPSU Central Committee (April) Plenum in 1985, where Gorbachev submitted the principles of a new strategy, the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the restructuring, and openness—glasnost.

Zeit: You are considered Gorbachev's closest economic advisor. How do you cooperate with him?

Aganbegyan: In the West you always try to link something significant that is happening to a person. You say: He is the leading person, he is the most significant advisor. In our country it is different. Our leadership most actively consults its scientists, including economic scientists. Because I head the economic scientists, so to speak, we naturally meet with Comrade Gorbachev from time to time, but the composition of the group can change.

Earlier it was often the case that leading politicians knew little of the matters they were talking about. Brezhnev, for example, often had difficulties in pronouncing economic management terms correctly. The people who helped him were frequently not experts either.

Zeit: And today?

Aganbegyan: Today the matter is different. Gorbachev is a man with a university education. If you talk to him, you do not have the impression that you are the expert and he knows nothing about it.

Zeit: It is very nice that you play down your role somewhat.

Aganbegyan: I say very objectivly what my role is. I would like to be the father of reform, but what can you do? If it is not so, it is not so.

Zeit: After all, you, as a scientist who does not belong to the Central Committee, publicly commented on the most important economic policy decisions at the Central Committee's June plenum.

Aganbdgyan: So what? I was asked to. It is an act of confidence in science, nothing else.

Zeit: What is the essence of the June decisions, with which the Soviet economy is to be put on a new basis?

Aganbegyan: The current administrative economic management system is to be replaced by a system where economic methods prevail.

Zeit: What does that actually mean?

Aganbegyan: Up to now, an enterprise in our country became active when it got an order from above. That order prescribes what and how much the enterprise must produce and how much it all may cost. Now we want to abandon that. In the future, the enterprises will get orders from consumers. The centralized material and technical supply to the enterprise is to be replaced by a wholesale trade in the means of production.

At the moment it works as follows: I need wire. Some 9 months before I need the wire I submit a request at the respective office for material-technical supplies. That office sends my request to Moscow to the main Metal Administration. There someone looks at a list of the appropriate industrial enterprises and picks out the plant that can produce such wire. That enterprise gets an order which, however, is not final. I get the order sent to me. With Moscow's confirmation of it I go to the factory that produces that wire, a factory that may be located on the other side of the street from where I am.

In the future I can conclude my contract directly with that factory or a dealer at the wholesale trade organization. All the red tape with Moscow will be eliminated.

Zeit: When will that direct trade be possible?

Aganbegyan: In 1990, some 60 percent of the trade in production means will go through the wholesale organization. All prices will be set by contract, as much as possible. They will not be prescribed anymore. Eventually we want to eliminate the entire petty system of instructions for enterprises.

Zeit: How many such instructions are there at present?

Aganbegyan: About 200,000 legal norms that sometimes regulate the smallest detail of economic life. In the course of this year all that will be abolished. Instead the enterprises will shift to a system we call the "four S system:" self-reliance, self-achievement of means, self-financing, and self-management. The state will no longer be responsible for the economic results of the enterprise. The enterprise will have no responsibility based on its commitment to the state. The enterprise will get control data, but it will be in the character of a suggestion. Moreover, there will be norms stipulating what part of the gains the enterprise must pay to the state.

Zeit: A capital gains tax?

Aganbegyan: In your country it would be called that. The decisive matter is that earlier it was the order that was the motor of development, now it will be the enterprise's economic interest. That includes personnel self-administration. The personnel outline the plan and elect the director.

Zeit: To reorder the Soviet economy, a change in the price system is required.

Aganbegyan: In the course of restructuring we want to democratize prices.

Zeit: In other words, supply and demand will establish the price?

Aganbegyan: The number of centrally set prices will be cut in any case. We also want to reform retail prices, but a decision on that has not yet been made.

We are now discussing whether prices for meat, milk products, and bread should be increased. Those prices were fixed in 1962 and have not been changed since. A kilogram of meat costs R1.80, 1 liter of milk, 28 kopecks. State subsidies currently amount to R3 for meat and 30 kopecks for milk—totalling R48 billion annually. Because of the low prices, demand is not sufficiently satisfied, and there is no difference in prices for different qualities.

Zeit: When Hungary started its price reforms, the inflation rate increased—because of the purchasing power surplus—to 8 or 9 percent. Will you accept such a development without resistance?

Aganbegyan: No. We want to work out a system that will saturate the market with merchandise, thus satisfying demand. We have already achieved some progress in the production of foodstuffs. It is still somewhat early for a prognosis, but I believe we will have a record harvest this year.

Zeit: Professor Aganbegyan, you have experienced two failed economic reform attempts in the Soviet Union. Where do you get your optimism that Gorbachev will be successful?

Aganbegyan: The old reforms could not succeed because they were partial reforms only, because the administrative system remained predominant, and because the economic methods were not implemented everywhere. In 1965, for example, only industry and agriculture were reformed, but not the building industry and transportation. Planning, regulations, and the banking system remained unchanged. The new economic methods were a foreign substance to our organism. The foreign substance could not grow, it was simply absorbed, it disappeared.

Zeit: What will be different now?

Aganbegyan: In 1965 hardly anything had changed in the political field, in the ideological field, and in the activity of the party. Today restructuring is taking place, not only in the economy, but in the entire society. Restructuring in the ideolgical field, for example, is overtaking economic restructuring. Moreover, the earlier reforms were reforms that came from above. They were implemented by administrative fiat. We are also starting the reform from above, but we are simultaneously including the masses of the working people in this process through self-administration. We believe that democratization is the main motor of restructuring, including in the economic field.

Zeit: What would the consequences be if restructuring failed?

Aganbegyan: We do not want to think about such a thing. Gorbachev said: "We have no space behind us to retreat." We were on the verge of a crisis. What is happening now is not because it is the opinion of Comrade Gorbachev or of a group of persons, but because it is an objective necessity of our life.

Zeit: Is there also resistance to economic reform in the Soviet Union?

Aganbegyan: The main difficulty is in overcoming indolence, the old way of thinking, the disbelief, and the old habits. You cannot say that there is a certain group of people who are jointly against restructuring. However, there are groups that oppose certain aspects, usually those involving themselves. Take, for example, part of the management apparatus—what you call bureaucracy. It is those members of the management apparatus whose functions will be eliminated. The infrastructure of many administrations will be cut by 30-50 percent, and the functions of those who will remain will be basically changed.

Zeit: How many people will be involved?

Aganbegyan: Maybe 10,000-15,000. Then there is a group of backward directors in enterprises. They do not like the director being elected by the personnel. They do not want responsibility. There are some workers who have been doing poor jobs for rather good pay. These people are now under pressure.

Zeit: You spoke once of "lazy workers who will get less pay now for the same work..."

Aganbegyan:...That can well be. In addition alcoholics are involved. If you stand on line at a liquor store, you can hear a lot of discontented voices.

Zeit: When will the Soviet worker feel the positive consequences of restructuring?

Aganbegyan: Some of the working people feel it already. Foodstuff supplies have improved. We have made some progress in housing construction. We have cut industrial accidents by one third and for the first time in 20 years the average life expectancy in the Soviet Union has increased again, from 68 years to 69.

However, many families are still not feeling anything. The turn toward the social needs of man has not yet been made. We have set ourselves the goal that every family will feel the material advantage of restructuring within the next 2-3 years. Everybody feels the spiritual improvements, the better quality of newspapers and television.

Zeit: You created a number of incentives for enterprises to increase labor production and to cut jobs. Will you soon begin to suffer from the so-called capitalist evil of unemployment? The Geneva International Labor Office predicts an unemployment figure of 600,000 for your country in 1990.

Aganbegyan: We will not suffer from unemployment, but from lack of workers. We must develop services for the people. That sector is quite underdeveloped. We now begin school education at the age of 6. For that we need 500,000 teachers. We want to satisfy fully the demand for kindergartens and nurseries. We need new medical personnel. For these reasons we have no fear of unemployment.

Zeit: In the future Soviet enterprises will also be permitted to go bankrupt.

Aganbegyan: That possibility is envisaged in the law on state-owned enterprises. However, I believe that the number of persons dismissed for that reason will not be very great. I think that enterprises should be shut down more frequently. Naturally, one must first help the ailing enterprise and maybe link it to some other industrial association. However, if all that does not help, it must be shut down. But I believe that I am a minority in that opinion.

Zeit: Why?

Aganbegyan: It is unusual in our country. It is a matter of indolence, a habit. I even wrote once that some thousand enterprises should be shut down in the USSR. I was criticized a lot for that.

Zeit: Of all Soviet enterprises, 13 percent cause losses. There are sufficient candidates for bankruptcy.

Aganbegyan: That figure is valid at current prices. If the prices were correct, it would change.

Zeit: Gorbachev wants to integrate the Soviet economy more strongly into the world economy. Is free convertibility of the ruble not an indispensable prerequisite?

Aganbegyan: At the Central Committee June plenum, a document was adopted to make our currency convertible, first in the framework of socialist currencies, and later in capitalist ones. For that price reform is necessary.

I believe that we can achieve the ruble's convertibility on the capitalist market in the nineties. It is difficult to give an exact time now. There will probably first be some sort of domestic convertibility, such as in Hungary, where the state sets an exchange rate for the enterprises. I am, at any rate, a very active advocate of such steps.

Zeit: Does the Soviet Union want IMF and GATT membership?

Aganbegyan: We want GATT membership and we have already submitted the appropriate documents. We do not close our doors to IMF and the World Bank. However, we have not filed applications so far. Many people see no advantage for us in them. As a whole, we maintain the position that we should enter all financial, trade, and credit structures that are important for economic relations. We have established a new political thinking, according to which we all live together in one world and there is nothing more important in that world than peace. If our membership in any fund or bank promotes that, we will be happy to do it.

Zeit: When will the restructuring of the Soviet economy be concluded?

Aganbegyan: The restructuring is not a short-term campaign, but a process. I believe that in the 13th 5-Year Plan beginning in 1990 we will be able to work with the new economic mechanism, reaping the fruits of restructuring. Eventually we want to proceed from a shortage economy to an economy without deficits, from the waste of raw materials to a highly intense economy, from a slow evolutionary development to great progess in the scientific-technical revolution. Our economy will no longer be oriented to increased production, but to increasing the living standard. Administrative centralism is to be replaced by democratic self-administration. We want to achieve the highest labor productivity and competitive products.

Zeit: Competitive with the West?

Aganbegyan: With the West. However, at the same time we want to strengthen our socialist way of life and hold onto no unemployment, no inflation, and permanent social protection for man.

Zeit: Khrushchev wanted to catch up with the United States by 1980. Do you have a similar time schedule now?

Aganbegyan: I think that in 15-20 years we can catch up with the leading capitalist countries. There will be different times for different things. We are not setting deadlines like 1980 or 2000.

Zeit: Restructuring calls for a certain number of investments. Can you be successful without drastically cutting down expenditures in the weapons sector?

Aganbegyan: We will implement restructuring even if there is no disarmament.

Zeit: At the same speed?

Aganbegyan: Naturally, we are interested in disarmament because then we can implement restructuring faster. The means that will be freed will be used not just for our own benefit. We suggested using a part of it for the starving countries of the Third World. But most of all we are interested in disarmament because we want to safeguard security and life.

Zeit: If the Soviet economy is more strongly integrated in the world economy, there will be stronger interdependence between East and West. Do you believe that then there would be some rapprochement between socialism and capitalism?

Aganbegyan: I do not like the word "integrate" in that connection. Every people and every country pick the political system it thinks is best. We are not going the capitalist way in the economy. We have no capitalists and no hired workers. In the political sector we will continue on our socialist way without copying any Western country, just as no Western country is copying us. Through restructuring we want the advantages of the socialist system to become more evident.

Zeit: However, in doing so you are using methods that have until now belonged exclusively to the capitalists.

Aganbegyan: First, we do not consider these instruments as characteristic of capitalist instruments and, second, we are applying them on the basis of our socialist economy. Independence in our country means something completely different than in yours. In the West, independence is based on private property, in our country on the property of the people. Therefore, we also have another market, workers are not being sold...

Zeit:...Nor are they in our country.

Aganbegyan: However, we are studying the experience of the capitalist countries. We can learn much from experience in the United States and particularly in Japan. But we do not copy it blindly.

Zeit: Despite your experience with failed reforms in the Soviet Union—do you still believe socialism is superior to capitalism?

Aganbegyan: Naturally.

Agricultural

Vladimir Oblast Meets Grain Sales Plan

PM181125 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Sep 87 p 1

[TASS report: "Into the State Granaries"]

[Excerpts] Farms in Vladimir Oblast have fulfilled the grain sales plan. More than 130,000 tonnes of grain have been poured into the state granaries. [passage omitted]

Above-plan grain sales are continuing. Seeds are now being prepared and sown.

CPSU CC Notes Livestock Successes, Problems

LD160849 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Sep 87

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee have adopted a decision on the results of the all-union socialist competition in conducting successful wintering of livestock and increasing the output and purchase of livestock products in the winter of 1986-87. The decision notes that those working in agriculture and other sectors of the agro-industrial complex conducted the wintering of livestock in an organized manner and ensured an increase in the volume of production and purchase of livestock products.

A considerable increase has been attained in the production of meat, milk, and eggs. This has been facilitated by measures to extend the independence of enterprises and to improve the economic mechanism. At the same time, a number of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises and associations have not made full use of the potential for production to step up the expansion of output of livestock products. The winners in the all-union socialist competition are named as the Russian Federation, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Kirghizia, a number of autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, 117 agricultural rayons, 936 collectives of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm and other enterprises. In congratulating the winners, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee express the hope that they and all those working in livestock breeding will also struggle selflessly to attain high indices in their work and an improvement in this sphere of agricultural production.

Weather-Hit RSFSR Harvest Progress Reported

PM181115 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[Yuriy Nikolayev article under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Exceptionally Hard Work"; boldface as published]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] We all know that grain does not come easily. Nor is it an accident that harvest time is spoken of as a period of hard work. But the situation now prevailing in Russia's fields can indeed be described in no other way but as **unusual and exceptional.** At least I personally cannot recall anything like it: such a late spring, such rainy and cold summer, such bad and cold weather in fall. This year's conditions cannot even be compared with any other year's. But even so, the harvest must be brought in. Grain, potatoes, flax.... and without wasting any time, at that! If anyone at all is still secretly hoping for fine weather to come and is putting off the completion of work, let him abandon such hopes. Weather forecasters predict nothing good for almost the entire territory of the RSFSR: Nothing but rain, imminent snowfall, and frost.

A lot of work still remains to be done. As of 14 September, grain crops on the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had been cut only on 53.4 million hectares and threshed on an even smaller area (49.1 million hectares) of the 68.3 million hectares which must be harvested. By the same date, potatoes had been lifted on only 460,000 hectares from a total of 1.6 million hectares.... In order to present the situation in all its gravity, let me recall: By this time last year, almost twice as large an area of potato plantations had been harvested. The lag is almost equally as great in terms of vegetable crops. [passage omitted]

Vegetable Procurements Down From Last Year
PM181323 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[A. Artsibashev "Agricultural Review": "Are the Storehouses Reliable?"]

[Excerpt] Work is being seriously hampered by the bad weather. But even under these conditions real proprietors are managing to harvest what has been grown and store it under reliable cover.

All our energy, the technical might of the agro-industrial complex, and the cities' extensive and comprehensive assistance to the countryside must now be concentrated in this area. Things are currently busy in the vegetable plantations. Vegetable farms have complex tasks on their hands—for instance, the potato harvest in a number of regions has been low. That is why it is important to harvest everything without losses and ensure reliable storage. By mid-September 7.7 million tonnes of truck farming produce—1.3 million tonnes less than at the same time last year—had been procured on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Considerable lags have been permitted by farms in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Moldavia. Even now harvesting rates are low because of various organizational shortcomings. There have been complaints about a shortage of pickers and transportation on a number of farms in Volgograd, Belgorod, Tambov, and Saratov Oblasts. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Reports Grain Harvest Progress Data
PM171345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "USSR State Statistical Committee Reports"]

[Text] By 14 September grain and pulses (excluding corn) had been reaped on 91.7 million hectares—84 percent of the total area. Grain has been threshed on 83.9 million hectares. The potato, sunflower, sugar beet, and vegetable harvests are underway. Feed procurement workers are continuing to replenish livestock units' forage stocks. Some 27 percent of the fall plowing has been completed. Winter sowing has been carried out on 24.5 million hectares.

Daily Reports Feed Harvest Progress
PM181215 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Sep 87 p 1

[Zootechnician M. Glinka report under the rubric "On the Day's Topics": "Feed Field Alarms"]

[Excerpt] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports: By 14 September the country's agricultural enterprises had laid in store 74.8 million tonnes of hay, 83.8 million tonnes of haylage, and 75 million tonnes of straw, chaff, and other coarse feed. Some 127.5 million tonnes of ready silage have been obtained and 4.9 million tonnes of artificially dehydrated green feed has been produced—in all, 107.4 million tonnes of feed units. This is 70 percent of the plan. There are 12.37 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock.

The State Statistics Committee data cannot fail to cause alarm, particularly if you compare them with the meteorologists' recent warning: Frosts and snowfalls could begin in many parts of the country in the next few days. This means that the threat of a winter feed shortage hangs over farms in a number of places. How do farmers plan to get through the long stalling period in Ryazan and Kursk oblasts, which have just 10.4-10.6 quintals of feed units per head of cattle? What will livestock raisers do in Tyumen, Kurgan, Kalmykia, and Dagestan, where these reserves are estimated at 7.8-9 quintals? On what are farm leaders in Tuva and Yakutia counting, having procured 4.4-5.6 quintals of feed units per standard head?

The simplest thing of all is to accuse local leaders and specialists and workers at the rayon and oblast level of "losing sight," "relaxing attention," and "not exerting proper effort." But, unfortunately, it is not such a simple matter. When an individual farm lags behind, the cause may be concealed in the leadership style, knowledge, and organizational abilities of an individual leader or in the attitude of specialists to their work. But when an entire region goes downhill, like the East Siberian Economic Region, for example, where Krasnoyarsk Kray alone has scraped together 11 quintals of feed units per head, while the remaining oblasts and autonomous republics have just 4.4-9.2 quintals, we have to seek more deep-seated reasons. There will be time later to analyze the situation, ascertain specifically who or what is to blame for laggardness in feed production, and determine what must be done to prevent such a thing in the future. But all this comes later, and there is no hurry for it. Now it is necessary to save the harvest. Here it is necessary to mobilize all resources and potential, because it is no longer a question of procuring feed but of actually saving feed.

In Pskov Oblast just 10.4 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock have been procured. Little, extremely little! But a hand is not being raised to criticize farms on whose lands even little streams have broken their banks because of the fall rain, while small rivers have risen by 4-5 meters. In this situation even these 10 quintals must be considered a fair achievement, because truly heroic labor has produced them. The obkom has managed to raise people to assist the countryside, enhanced the militancy of primary party organizations, and turned this assistance into a truly nationwide cause. The feed procurement detachments set up in the oblast are making the second cutting of grasses, gathering stubble, and laying grain haylage in trenches. The procurement plan for hay has been fulfilled there by 75 percent, and for haylage by 94 percent. Note the second figure—it is indeed haylage, whose procurement is more mechanized, requires fewer operations, and is not as

dependent as haymaking on the weather, which has saved the situation with regard to the grass harvest in many places during this wet year.

It could also play a similar role in Belorussian oblasts, particularly as a reliable haylage storage base has been created there. The 1,068 tower storehouses could hold almost half a million tonnes of this feed. But one tower in every five is empty, and the majority of the haylage has been laid in trenches, where it does not keep as well and loses its quality. Measures are now being taken in the republic to lay down as much haylage as possible from grasses of the second cutting, since in a number of places it exceeds the first in terms of yield.

At this unstable time it is precisely the laying down of haylage, together with silage making, that can improve the supply of feed for livestock units. The plan for procurement of the valuable feed has not yet been fulfilled in Orel, Belgorod, Voronezh, Kurgan, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Tyumen, and Chita oblasts, Khabarovsk Kray, or the Mordovian, Chuvash, and Tuva Autonomous Republics.

Silage can appreciably supplement forage stocks—so far only just over 127 million tonnes have been laid in store out of the 288 million tonnes planned. Large tracts of silage crops are still standing in many places and could be ruined by the slightest frost. The silage procurement plans have been fulfilled by just 21 percent on farms in the Ukraine, by 27 percent in Moldavia, and by 31-35 percent in the Transcaucasian republics. Overall feed stocks are also correspondingly low there—less than 10 quintals of feed units per head of cattle. In the RSFSR least ready silage has been obtained in Ryazan Oblast (22 percent of the plan), Tula Oblast (19 percent), Kursk Oblast (32 percent), Rostov Oblast (25 percent), Kurgan Oblast (12 percent), Chelyabinsk Oblast (32 percent), Novosibirsk Oblast (16 percent), Kemerovo Oblast (41 percent), Amur Oblast (6 percent), Krasnoyarsk Kray (9 percent), and Maritime Kray (6 percent).

The causes of laggardness vary. In Kurgan Oblast, for example, corn is being left in the field until the last opportunity so as to obtain cobs of waxy ripeness (it is cultivated there according to grain technology). But this opportunity has now been almost exhausted, and a big effort must be made to preserve the generous harvest which has been grown with great difficulty.

A yet more complex situation has been created in fields occupied by feed root crops. The majority of farms have fulfilled their procurement plans by less than 10 percent, and in a number of places they have barely begun lifting feed beets, turnips, and swedes. This work is usually done also in October. This year it is most likely that this opportunity will not exist. [passage omitted]

Media Report 14-16 September Developments

LD162352 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 14-16 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

14 September

Kursk Oblast has begun picking sugar beet from almost 200,000 hectares sown to the crop this year. (0400)

In Altay 2 million tonnes of grain have been laid in. Nearly 4 million hectares have been harvested which amounts to 90 percent of all fields. (0600)

Mass harvesting of rice has started in Kazakhstan where it accounts for 130,000 hectares. A good yield is expected. (600)

Machine operators in the Maritime Kray are harvesting buckwheat. This year it occupies an area of more than 20,000 hectares. (1400)

Belgorod farms today completed sowing of winter crops: on 250,000 hectares wheat will be grown using the intensive technology method.

15 September

Moldavia has begun sowing winter wheat. (0204)

Winter wheat and rye have been sowed on more than 1 million hectares in Saratov Oblast. (0400)

16 September

At the beginning of the week in the RSFSR cereals remained unharvested on more than 15 million hectares, moreover not only beyond the Urals but in the European part of the country as well, in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Grain growers in Kazakhstan are also carrying out harvesting work in complicated weather conditions. Machine operators from Tselinograd Oblast are giving an example here of utilizing equipment for threshing. However, even here there are a great deal of farms where reaped bread grain lies for a long time in the fields waiting to be threshed. This threatens losses for the harvest. (1100)

Machine harvesting of raw cotton has begun in Uzbekistan. This year's cotton harvest differs from previous years in that highly toxic defoliants are no longer in use. The new non-toxic defoliant affects the plants in a slightly different way. There were fears at one time that the purity of the raw cotton picked would be impaired. However experience has shown that this can be avoided. (1100)

Military

Military-Patriotic Education Viewed

PM161201 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 87 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lieutenant General V. Plekhanov, member of the Military Council and Chief of the Political Directorate of the Red Banner Odessa Military District: "Waiting Means Losing; Notes on Young People's Military-Patriotic Education"]

[Text] It was with great interest that I read the article in *Krasnaya Zvezda* entitled "How Our Sons Are Serving" (4 July this year) which speaks of the problems of training our young people for army service. Unfortunately, some young people, and indeed people of older generations, have no idea of the conditions and features of military service today or of the modern army.

The following curious incident even took place. A young soldier had committed an error verging on a crime. The question of criminal responsibility arose. The soldier's mother deluged us with telegrams and then came herself, bringing numerous documents attesting to her son's serious illness. The soldier was hospitalized for observation. It turned out that he should not have been drafted into the army.

From a talk with his mother it emerged that, having no idea about the army (here one can understand her) and having heard neighbors assert that "they can turn a fool into a wise man there," she misled the military commissariat draft commission and got her son drafted for military service. I say this not so much as a reproach against the mother as to provide further corroboration of the idea expressed by Colonel A. Khorez, the article's author, that many people (of course, not only soldiers' mothers, not only the distaff side, so to speak) have a not entirely correct idea of the harsh routine of army service and the function of our armed forces.

What is the reason? Evidently not only the fact that to some degree the present younger generation has been spoiled by the comfort of modern life, that some draftees have been brought up without fathers and have received no manly education.

For our generation, which joined the ranks of the Armed Forces after the bloodiest of wars and experienced many deprivations as children and young men, the harsh routine of army life seemed entirely natural and understandable. But the main thing was that the older generation, which had passed through the crucible of war, educated young people in the spirit of readiness to defend the motherland. That was my own case. My father, a front line soldier, supported my decision to become a military man. Works of fiction and the cinema which showed purposefully and I would say authentically not only the romance and heroic elements of army and navy life but also its hard routine played a tremendous part in my choice of profession.

Unfortunately, the theme of military-patriotic education nowadays does not enjoy proper attention among our writers, poets, composers, and cinema workers. In my view the cinema, television, fiction, and the mass media still do little to reveal the point and significance of the Soviet citizen's very important constitutional duty—service in the USSR Armed Forces.

Talented works which show army life truthfully and help to form courage and heroism are extremely rare. We were brought up on the movies "Chapayev," "Three Tank Operators," and many others which even now are viewed with excitement and sincere interest. The books "How the Steel Was Tempered" ["Kak zakalyalas stal"], "Story of a Real Man" ["Povest o nastoyashchem cheloveke"], and "The Young Guard" ["Molodaya gvardiya"] and the images of their heroes enthralled many of us. The songs of the war years do not leave us indifferent to this day.

I believe that military-patriotic education will be more effective if our young people learn more not only about the heroism and courage of the generation which passed through the war but also about the heroic deeds of their present-day contemporaries.

Our servicemen are courageously fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan and for the second year now are struggling against the perfidious and invisible enemy in Chernobyl, eliminating the consequences of the accident at the atomic power station, and are performing their hard service on remote borders and expanses of the ocean. Dozens of them have become Heroes of the Soviet Union and thousands have been awarded combat orders and medals for their exploits. I have met with many of them.

I remember a conversation with Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Tutov, a political worker at a training subunit who graduated in 1983 from the Novosibirsk Combined Arms Higher Military-Political Academy named for the 60th anniversary of the Great October. He had served nearly 3 years in the limited contingent of Soviet forces in the DRA. He had two Orders of the Red Banner, an Order of the Red Star, and a combat medal. He described combat episodes with modesty and spoke with respect of the exploits of the graduates of his own academy who had posthumously become Heroes of the Soviet Union—senior Lieutenants Nikolay Shornikov and Aleksandr Demakov. At the conclusion of our talk he asked: "Help me to return to the DRA again." Yet it was only 6 months since Tutov had come back from the DRA.

Many of these remarkable boys, having been gravely wounded, did not bend under the blows of fate. I met with Senior Lieutenant V. Klyakov in the district military hospital. The commander of a sapper platoon, still a young man who had not had time to acquire a family, he lost both legs while fulfilling a combat mission. Talking with him on the ward and imagining the difficulties awaiting him in life, I involuntarily kept my feelings in check. But he shared his plans for the future with me with a smile:

"The main thing is to learn to walk on artificial legs and to work where I can be useful to the common cause."

Are the heroism and courage of these men not worthy of being revealed in the cinema and in literature?

Remember Spain in the thirties, the play and movie entitled "The Boy from Our Town" and other works about our internationalist servicemen. Their exploit will remain in our memory forever.

For all our vast potential, with our large detachment of writers, poets, producers, and composers, can we name even a few works about our present-day heroes? Do our young

people know Heroes of the Soviet Union officers Ye. Vysotskiy, N. Malyshev, N. Shornikov, and many others?

On the other hand there are more and more "thrusts" against the concepts of "military duty," "the army," and "the selflessness of martial labor." You only have to take the well-known movie: "Is it Easy to be Young?" I agree that the film raises problems. It is essential to show drug addicts, "heavy metal" fans, "rockers," and so forth to understand better the reasons for negative phenomena and to find ways of overcoming them. But I personally cannot agree that the movie is useful in all respects. In my opinion it involuntarily casts doubt on the need for young people to fulfill their military duty. A sergeant who fulfilled his international duty in the DRA is shown on a broad scale. It is said from the screen that this sergeant, awarded the Order of the Red Star for his exploit, does not wear his award and is scarcely ever likely to. We see his palm in which the order lies and his fingers closing on it ... and the viewer is left to wonder: Perhaps the order will then be thrown away? We must agree that in such subjects the correct emphasis is particularly important.

I believe readers will agree that it is essential to resurrect as rapidly as possible the widespread portrayal of the noble cause of the defense of the gains of socialism. All types of art must be used to debunk pacifism, to show in a bright and talented way the heroism of the younger generation traveling the road of their fathers. Delay in this important matter could lead to serious losses. Waiting means losing.

Of course, this work is broad and on many planes. It is important to consider all aspects in it. For instance, take the following element. In the press and on television now the following idea sometimes appears: Should we not stop the production of children's toy weapons? They allegedly nurture the "wrong" feelings and qualities in our children. But surely we cannot fail to see that our small boys do not play at bank robbers or bad cowboys. They play at defenders of the motherland. I believe that if we stop the production of these toys then boys themselves will learn to wield sabres, pistols, and machineguns... Because these weapons embody for them the soldier's honor, bravery, and courage. That is what we should not forget.

Much here depends on the depth of understanding of the problem by the specific people who head particular sectors of work with young people. For instance, I recently visited Nikolayev City's No 52 secondary school. School director Mikhail Nikolayevich Andriyevskiy and military training officer reserve Lieutenant Colonel Vasiliy Ivanovich Savonenko are doing a lot to train young people for army service. They do not only work with the senior class pupils.

Wall bars, ropes, and other sports equipment has been installed in the six-grade school classrooms for the children's physical tempering. They use them with tremendous pleasure. The physical loads increase from class to class and explanatory work about the tasks of our armed forces is stepped up.

This school has the oblast's largest number of pupils anxious to enter military academies. It is indicative that in the past 5 years here there has not been a single case of drug addiction, nor has anyone been taken to the militia, and all the young men who graduate from the school are drafted into the USSR Armed Forces in a state of physical health.

But that is not the case everywhere. The article "They are Our Children" (*Krasnaya Zvezda* 30 May this year) cites a young woman Komsomol raykom secretary. She apologizes to the military comrades for the fact that a dozen hooligans in the rayon who cause not only the Komsomol aktiv "but even the militia to grieve" will soon be sent to the Armed Forces. But the Komsomol worker forgets that there is no instant change of content with the change of uniform. That means that yesterday's hooligan will lay hands on weapons and ammunition and will be trusted with formidable weaponry and expensive equipment. Will the commanders and political workers be able rapidly to reeducate each of these hooligans and put him on the correct path?

The complex processes taking place today among young people, the desire of some of them to imitate Western fashion, the attraction to "heavy metal" music, and that too is connected with ideology, and a whole series of other factors undoubtedly complicate our work to educate young servicemen. In a training unit recently I met with young soldiers who had been yesterday's VUZ students. In a frank talk with them I became convinced that they were very anxious to serve. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority will become good servicemen. It will be harder for yesterday's "heavy metal" fans, "rockers," and "hippies..."

The fact that commanders and even political workers were not interested in the problem before this meeting puts us on our guard. They were extremely surprised when in response to a question about who was a "heavy metal" fan or "rocker," several young servicemen in various parts of the auditorium raised their hands.

The officer-educators and primarily the political workers and party and Komsomol activists must evidently consider better all aspects of the nature of young people today, be more attentive toward every young serviceman who joins the unit, study new recruits without delay and actively influence their development in order to rule out any negative manifestations. Nor must we forget that draftees include representatives of various religious sects who refuse to take the military oath and take up weapons.

Of course, it is a case of fine, painstaking work. Only the ability to find the correct approach to each person, a knowledge of his features and interests, the manifestation of unfeigned interest in his army development, tact, concern, the ability to bring him close to the values of communist ideology and morality, to reveal in depth the essence of the military oath and military duty will enable us to educate and train reliable defenders of the motherland.